JUSTICE SHAH DIN

HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS

BY

BASHIR AHMAD

یہاں حسنِ عمل ہے سب سے بہتر یادگاروں میں
ہمایوں

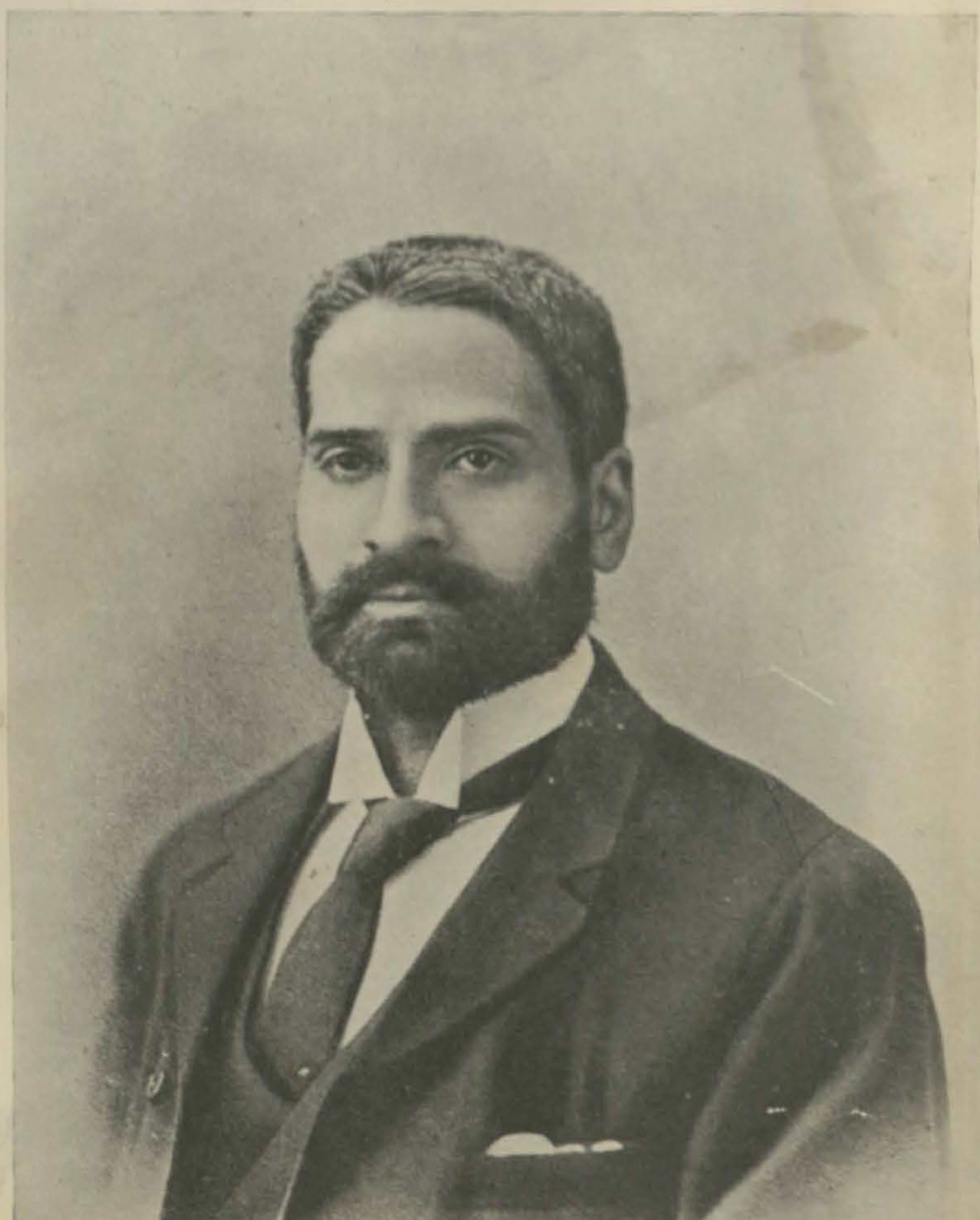
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MIAN MUHAMMAD SHAH DIN "Humayun"

ہمایوں

اے ہمایوں زندگی تیری سراپا سوز تھی - تیری چنگاری چراغِ انجمن افروز تھی

گرچہ تھا تیرا تنِ خاکی نزار و دردمند - تھی ستارے کی طرح روشن تری طبعِ بلند

کسقدر بے باک دل اُس ناتواں پیکر میں تھا - شعلۂ گردوں نورد اک مشتِ خاکستر میں تھا

موت کی لیکن دلِ دانا کو کچھ پروا نہیں - شب کی خاموشی میں جز ہنگامۂ فردا نہیں

موت کو ~~غافل~~ سمجھے ہیں غافل اختتامِ زندگی

ھے یہ شامِ زندگی صبحِ دوامِ زندگی

اقبال

PREFACE

In this book I have presented a brief account of the life of my father Mian Muhammad Shah Din, as a prelude to a study of his speeches and writings, which are here being published as a collection for the first time.

As will be seen, it was Mian Shah Din's intellectual and literary ability which first attracted people's attention towards him soon afer his return from England as a barrister ; yet though his talents as a speaker and writer were remarkable the distinguishing trait of his personality and character was his passion for righteousness both in public and private life. In this he occupied a unique position in his own community, to which he felt he owed a special duty. But along with his deep sympathy with the Muslims, he had ideals of universal appeal based on truth and justice. The great poet Iqbal had a very high opinion of Mian Shah Din about whom he wrote one of his best poems entitled "Humayun". This forms the frontispiece of the present book, and beautifully portrays the personality of a great man.

There is thus no doubt that the life and writings of Justice Shah Din bring us into close touch not only with an able and learned man who attained a distinguished position by his hard work and persistent effort but also with a man of high and firm moral principles, who can be a guiding star for his fellow men, and particularly for his countrymen, who have been left behind in the race of Time.

The writings collected here deal with various subjects, most of them pertaining to the life of the Muslims of the sub-continent, in a manner which is neither parochial nor

partial. Along with them we have some essays and addresses of an international and philosophic nature, which hold great interest for the general reader.

The work of Mian Shah Din as a lawyer and as a judge requires a separate treatise, which I find myself unable to undertake. However, a summary of one of his well-known judgements has been included, so that an important aspect of his career may not go wholly unrepresented. Even so, the present compilation does not cover all his activities. His Urdu poems were published about 38 years ago under the title "Jazabat-i-Humayun" (جذبات همایون) A few of these poems are given here in an appendix. His other Urdu writings and speeches (only a few of which have been preserved) do not unfortunately find a place in the present book. No attempt has been made to give a detailed exposition and criticism of the English writings with special reference to subsequent events and present conditions. I hope some historian or some other competent critic may one day explore the subject.

Finally, I would like to thank some of my friends for their kindness and help in the preparation of this book. I am particularly grateful to Mr. Justice Shahab-ud-Din, Professor Hamid Ahmad Khan and my son Manzar Bashir for the valuable suggestions made by them with regard to the biographical part of the book. I am also obliged to Mr. and Mrs. Heapy for their helpful revision of the text.

"Almanzar", Lahore : 1962. BASHIR AHMAD

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ON THE ROAD TO SHALAMAR

On the road to Shah Jahan's Shalamar——the Grand Trunk Road laid out for over a thousand miles from one end of the sub-continent to the other by the great Sher Shah Suri, more than four centuries ago——in the very early hours of the dawn, under the dim scintillating light of the stars, before the dust of the day has risen, there runs along a young boy of thirteen, with his elder brother, racing for victory with a village milkman's "Tum-tum." The two boys are hastening to their school at Lahore where the younger one has already distinguished himself by his marked ability and scrupulous propriety.

The two brothers come from a rather impecunious branch of a middle class family of the village of Baghbanpura. Half a century before this, their grandfather was a learned Arabic and Persian scholar and teacher, a poet of Persian and Urdu, and yet a man of a practical bent of mind who was chosen by the Court of Ranjit Singh to go and learn the art of gunnery from certain French Officers in the employ of the Maharaja. Having finished his theoretical course and practical training, he wrote a book in Persian entitled مفتاح القلعه "Miftah-ul-Qala" ("Key to the Fort"), and supervised the manufacture of a gun called فتح جنگ ("Fateh Jang"—Victory in battle") which was still preserved as a relic in the Fort of Lahore about fifty years ago.

The son of this poet and gun-designer, an honest and diligent man, died comparatively poor, leaving his four sons and three daughters with a small debt, which however was irksome enough to cause worry to at least the three elder sons. Our boy of thirteen (who at the time of his father's death was only eight years old), was the third son. After the death of the father, the creditors in the small village

began to look askance at the boys whenever they passed to and fro through the narrow bazar.

The eldest brother, only fifteen years old at the death of his father, rose to the occasion, and of his own accord took over the burden and the various responsibilities on behalf of all his brothers and sisters. His luck and high spirits both favoured him. One day at the age of nineteen when, in a literary gathering at Lahore, he recited an Urdu poem of his entitled "Autumn", written in the new realistic style, the British Director of Public Instruction, who was present on the occasion, expressed his hearty appreciation of the young man's effort by making a concession in his favour, and permitting him to enter the Law School.* The youth made the best of his opportunity, became a full-fledged lawyer, and in time began to command a large legal practice, which helped him not only to wipe out the old debt but also to give a higher standard of living to the whole family and break new ground by sending his third brother to England for the Bar.

But at the time of which we are speaking, the family could not even afford to hire a conveyance, and that is why we found the second and the third brother hurrying along at dawn together to attend the Mission School at Lahore, where they had been studying for a number of years. Daily they walked these three or four miles quickly and determinedly ; in fact, as we have seen, they were occasionally found running joyfully alongside the simple cart of a village Gujjar, who regularly supplied milk to the townspeople.

The family was in straitened circumstances, but under the affectionate care and guidance of the eldest brother, and with the united diligence and perseverance of them all they pulled through in an admirable manner, and reaped a

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*The first couplet of this poem ran as follows :—

تو عندلیب جس کی محبت میں زار ہے
اب جھاڑیوں میں کھیل کہ جاتی بہار ہے

(Thou, O Nightingale, who art in love with spring,
Play about around the shrubs, for it is now departing).

rich harvest of self-esteem and worldly honours in the years to come. At the time however and for long afterwards, their life was simple, economical, righteous and unostentatious. Poverty chastened them, and faith helped them on in their daily struggle.

Out of them all the third brother, our lad of thirteen, shone the brightest. Thirty-six years later, in 1917, this very youth, with a nature eager for advancement and devoted to righteousness, reached the pinnacle of public fame and appreciation, after years of toil and sweat; and at last adorned the Bench of the Punjab Chief Court as the first Muslim Chief Justice of the Province; on him were showered encomiums for his legal acumen, his educational ability, his competence and brilliance as a writer and speaker in English and Urdu, and last but not least for being a man of sterling character, with rational and almost puritanical habits of thought and action.

This was Mr. Justice Mian Muhammad Shah Din, who was born in 1868 at Baghbanpura, a small village, three miles from Lahore, situated under the benign shadow of the charming and unique Shalamar Gardens of which under a royal Mughal firman, the ancestors of the Mian Family had been the custodians ever since their completion in 1642.

Born and bred in a Muslim middle class family, Mian Shah Din was from his boyhood deeply interested in knowledge and learning and social reform. He was of a contemplative nature yet deeply interested in men and affairs. He was an enthusiastic follower and admirer of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, and helped the community to implement, continue and improve upon his liberal policy in the various fields of human activity. Over and above all, Mian Shah Din was a model of correct behaviour and strict self-control.

In one of his early Ghazals he wrote :—

اچھا ھے گر عمل سے عقیدہ ھوا کرے
ایسے سبق ھمیں نہ پڑھایا کرے کوئی

(If belief is better than action, let it be,
But let no one teach such lessons to us !)

And in one of his last ghazals, written only about a year before his death, he wrote the following verse, which is now appropriately the epitaph on his tombstone :—

ھمایوں تیرے مدفن پر بنائیں مقبرہ کیوں ھم

یہاں حسن عمل ھے سب سے بہتر یادگاروں میں

Why should we, O Humayun, build a mausoleum on your grave ?

For here righteous action is the best of all monuments !

PART I

LIFE

I

THE RENAISSANCE OF MUSLIM INDIA

THE history of the rise and fall and of the recovery——still in its early stages——of the Muslims of Pakistan and India is a fascinating story. *

When the Muslims came to India, they found that it was divided into a number of petty states, mostly quarrelling with one another. The once virile Aryan civilization had degenerated into a luxurious, comparatively passive and artificial culture, dominated by a vicious caste system that had lost all its original vigour in the hands of a parasitic hierarchy of Brahmans and self-seeking rulers, content to indulge in petty quarrels and abortive raids.

The Aryans had carried out a mass invasion of India, in fact it was the migration of a whole people, who drove away or enslaved the aborigines in their relentless onward march. It must, however, be pointed out that they succeeded in establishing firm governments, and also successfully practised the arts of civilization for many centuries, making India a home of learning and other cultural and spiritual attainments.

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* Among others, the following sources have been availed of: *Cambridge History of India* (1858-1918); *Political India* by Cumming (1832-1932); *India under British Crown* (Major B. D. Basu); *Siyasiat-i-Millia* (Muhammad Amin Zuberi); *Hayat-i-Javed* (Maulana Hali); *Eminent Musalmans* (Natesan 1925); *Muhammadan Educational Conference Reports* and other Aligarh Publications; *The Making of Pakistan* (Symonds 1950); *Karnama-i-Islam* (Bashir Ahmad 1949), etc.

But when, in accordance with the trend of all civilized human communities, they settled down to ease and comfort, to luxury and conventions and superstitions, the disruptive elements among them gained the upper hand and they lost their active habits, their unity and their integrity, and thus naturally invited the onset of more active and vigorous individuals and communities from abroad.

It is generally but quite erroneously believed that the Muslims came to India as aggressive invaders. No doubt, they did invade the country, but not till they had been provoked to do so. Muhammad bin Qasim invaded India in 712 after a certain Raja Dahir had intercepted and plundered some Arab ships in the Arabian Sea, while Sabuktagin and Sultan Mahmood of Ghazni began their retaliatory raids towards the end of the tenth century only after Raja Jaipal of Lahore took the first wrong step and invaded Ghazni unsuccessfully.

Some of the Muslim invaders were, doubtless, not half so advanced and civilized as the advanced section among the Indians, but they were, one and all inspired by a fresh, living faith, and so with their warlike strength and unity of purpose, were able to overcome the rather feeble resistance of an apparently peaceful but sluggish and disunited people.

A few of the early Afghan and Turkish rulers of Muslim India, such as Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, Muhammad Tughlak and Firoz Shah Tughlak, distinguished themselves by their hard work, benevolence and breadth of view, and played a creditable part in bringing peace and prosperity to this strife-torn land. Later, under the Mughal Empire's first six renowned and enlightened monarchs, who between them ruled for nearly 200 years, India attained to a composite civilization, mighty and brilliant, probably unparalleled in the annals of this country. There was peace and plenty, arts and crafts flourished as never before, and the languages and literatures received a fresh impetus under the patronage of the upper class. The country, no longer parcelled out among petty independent chiefs with a local and narrow outlook, once

more moved towards unity after centuries of division and disruption.

But after the great Aurangzeb, under inefficient and ease-loving Emperors and a corrupt and self-indulgent band of officials and aristocracy, the country and the people fell an easy prey to the depredations of freebooters and the avarice and unscrupulousness of landholders great and small and of local overlords. The Mahrattas and Sikhs added to the confusion, and the British merchants and other foreigners took advantage of the deplorable situation to carve out large principalities, which for a long time were nominally under the suzerainty of the Mughal rulers, but in actual fact became the precursors of a far-flung British Empire, destined to affect the fortunes of India, for good or ill, for almost 200 years.

The truth of the matter is that the Muslims after making India their home and ruling over it generally with kindness, firmness and in a spirit of tolerance for seven long centuries, at last fell on evil days, lost touch with their true faith and began to revel in sensual delight and merry-making. Once they wielded the pen and the sword wisely and effectively, now they took to the goblet and the tambourine. As in the words of Iqbal, it has always been :

شمشیر و سنان اول ، طاؤس و رباب آخر *

Some have attributed this decadence to the salubrious and slackening climate and the rich, luxuriant soil of India. But, however true it may be that the climate and atmosphere of a place do affect human character, it is after all the men who primarily have to bear the blame and suffer the consequences of their actions. It is for human beings to understand the laws of nature, to follow and master them to the fullest extent, and then to utilize them for the ultimate good of the whole human race. And it is the deviation from this golden rule that involves men in

* First the sword and lance, but at last the guitar and tambourine.

troubles and tribulations, it is this evil that dogs the footsteps of individuals and nations and finally leads to their utter destruction.

So it happened to the Muslim rulers of India. As long as they proved true to themselves, they prospered and the country and the people prospered with them. But when they degenerated, they lost not only the dominions over which they ruled but even their own souls. Their righteousness gone, they tried in vain to neglect and overlook the facts of the situation. Choosing to indulge in empty boasts and falsely-assumed prestige, they ceased to scrutinize their own motives and doings or to listen attentively to the call of duty.

The result was inevitable and the aftermath unavoidable. The Muslims lost their Empire, their prestige, their self-respect. Most of them also lost their property in the course of time. Adversity stared them in the face, and it seemed that they would soon become hewers of wood and drawers of water for the very people over whom they had previously ruled or on whom they had freely showered their favours. After the decline of the Mughal Empire there was an anti-Muslim movement among a large section of the Hindus, and a desire to avenge the real or supposed wrongs suffered at the hands of these "foreigners" and their "foreign" religion. As for the British, the new overlords of the sub-continent, they well realized that it was they who had snatched power from the Muslims and therefore, in order to keep that power intact in their own hands, they saw to it that the Muslim spirit was thoroughly crushed.

The prospects for the Muslims of India were indeed bleak. Hated by a large section of the Hindus, suppressed by the British conquerors, divided among themselves, with no ideals, no morality, no true self-esteem left, they were doomed to oblivion and perhaps to extinction.

This darkened landscape was momentarily brightened by a few individuals like Shah Wali Ullah of Delhi, who touched the religious chord, and Syed Ahmad Brelvi, and Ismail Shaheed, who tried to improve the lot of the poor and who

marched across India to stem the Sikh onslaught. In vain did such noble souls try to rally the Indian Muslims round the Islamic banner. Despite their best endeavours, they failed to retrieve the disaster that overtook their people. Honour to them that they put forth their selfless efforts in a time of gloom and fear, and thus helped in the long run to inspire those who came after them.

At such a time of defeat and despair, when all around seemed dark and dismal, there came forward a noble and self-sacrificing soul, such as God sends to the Earth to work among men in times of crises. This was the great Syed Ahmad Khan, about whom an Englishman, a colleague of his for several years, said after his death that he had never in his life come across such a great and distinguished man.

After the unsuccessful War of Independence in 1857, the Muslims of India felt distressed and sullen and resentful. The British suppressed them, their Hindu fellow-subjects harboured feelings of ill-will against them, while the Muslims themselves felt that they had been cheated out of their power by the British usurpers, and hence in their wrathful indignation and defeatist mentality they boycotted these foreigners and everything good or bad connected with them.

Syed Ahmad Khan, who wisely seeing the trend of the times and hearing the call of duty, had even before the War of Independence, gauged the situation correctly, realized that the resentment and slothfulness of his co-religionists was driving them completely in the wrong direction. If things had assumed a dark aspect for the Muslims, he thought, they must first examine their own selves, and see where they themselves had erred; and then in accordance with the new shape of things, they ought to co-operate with the progressive forces in order to rehabilitate themselves in the new environment. They must recognize that they had not remained true and faithful to their Islamic ideals, but had instead become indolent and self-centred. An ostensibly enthusiastic acceptance of religious dogmas, along with a sentimental parading of their communal passion, could be no useful substitute for a genuine heartfelt faith that would

manifest itself in selfless and heroic actions from day to day. Syed Ahmad Khan, therefore, appealed to his co-religionists to face with courage the new world in which they had been left behind in the race of Time, and instead of repeating parrot-like the old orthodox formulas, to act up to them in the light of the new knowledge imparted by the West. Only thus would they feel the pulse of life, only thus could they once more get into intimate touch with the dynamic spirit of the early days of Islam, which had helped to revolutionize the Medieval world.

Syed Ahmad Khan called to the Muslims to rise to the occasion, to aim high, to learn the latest arts and sciences, and at the same time he held out before them a new interpretation of Islam, more in harmony with modern scientific thought.

Thus he remonstrated with his own community, and appealed to them first to put their own house in order, showing them the road to progress by taking definite practical steps in that direction. He started by putting forward a new exposition of the Bible with the object of reconciling Muslim and Christian beliefs on several issues. He laid the foundation of a scientific society (1863), and in this connection brought out *The Aligarh Institute Gazette* (1866), which dealt with both political and intellectual topics. In 1869-70 at great financial sacrifice, he proceeded to England with the primary object of studying the British University system, and there in collaboration with his able and gifted son Syed Mahmood (afterwards Justice Syed Mahmood), he matured plans for the opening of a modern educational centre for Indian Muslims. On his return home, he set about publishing his well-known journal *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* (1870), which exercised a powerful influence on the moral, intellectual, social and religious condition of the Muslim community. In 1875 he laid the foundation of the famous Aligarh College, which henceforth became the headquarters of Muslim activities in the sub-continent, and for a long time the centre of Muslim hopes. Next year, he started writing his unique commentary on the Holy Quran, with the express

object of offering a rational explanation of all religious doctrines and practices. In 1886 he founded the Muhammadan Educational Conference, which for 10 years held its sessions in different parts of the country and brought about a phenomenal awakening among his co-religionists.

Syed Ahmad Khan bore no hatred towards the British or the Hindus; in fact, he wished to co-operate with them in the task of advancement of the Indian people. He was the first Indian after the 1857 War of Independence to take up the cause of Indian self-government, and as early as 1859, he offered constructive criticism of the British administration in India in his remarkably outspoken book اسباب بغاوت ھند *(Causes of the Indian Mutiny)*, in which he took the rulers to task for their indifference to the people, and for failing to allow the Indians to fill any important post in the government of their own country.

But his foremost task was to help his own despairing community, and whenever and wherever he found that the other communities oppressed or overawed the Muslims or hatched schemes with the object of eliminating them from the social or political scene, he boldly stepped forward and protected them to the best of his ability.

He defended the Holy Prophet against the scurrilous attacks of Christian Missionaries and of bigoted authors like Sir William Muir who published his notorious *Life of Muhammad* in 1868. Later during his stay in England Syed Ahmad Khan worked day and night writing his famous book *Khutabat-i-Ahmadiyya* (خطبات احمدیه) a comprehensive life of the Holy Prophet, wherein he effectively answered the acrimonious criticism of the non-Muslims and also helped to liberalize the religious outlook of the Muslims themselves. In 1871 he published a rejoinder to Hunter's mischievous publication *Our Indian Musalmans*.

His attitude towards the Hindus was one of friendliness. On more than one occasion he described the Hindus and Muslims as the two beautiful eyes of mother India, whose hearty co-operation was both natural and necessary to their

own interests. Further he pressed the British Government to open up for Indians at least some of the higher posts.

Thus in the work of Hindu-Muslim unity and in the sphere of collaboration between the Government and the people on honourable terms, Syed Ahmad Khan was a pioneer and a torch-bearer, who set a wonderful example of broadmindedness, courage and self-sacrifice to the voluntary workers of all the Indian communities. But, unfortunately, the response from the Hindus was anything but encouraging, and when at last they began to adopt an aggressive attitude towards the Muslims, Syed Ahmad Khan stood like a rock against their onslaught.

In 1867, when the Hindus of Benares started an agitation against Urdu and in favour of its substitution by Hindi, Syed Ahmad Khan was forced to realize for the first time that co-operation with the Hindus was an idle dream, for they wanted to weaken and wreck the very foundations of a common platform for Hindu-Muslim unity. And in January 1883, five years after he was appointed a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, in the course of a discussion on the Central Provinces Local Self-Government Bill, Syed Ahmad Khan, while advocating the cause of self-government, objected to the introduction of the principle of election in India. He argued that as this country was inhabited by a heterogeneous population drawn from different races and belonging to different religions, all with a different outlook on life, it was not proper to follow the same system of popular representation here as was practised by a unified homogeneous nation like the British. The Muslims, Syed Ahmad Khan rightly emphasized, were a separate and distinct community with ideals and customs of their own. They would always be ready to co-operate with other communities in the pursuit of certain common objects, but they could not view with equanimity the prospect of being merged into and overwhelmed by the major community. Accordingly, he advised the Muslims to keep away from the Indian National Congress (1887). This gave a convenient handle to the "Nationalists" to attack and run him down

for his alleged lack of patriotism. But it is important to note that it was not Sir Syed who willingly and purposely devised the separatist creed, rather, it was forced upon him by a strong Hindu revivalist movement, which had begun its sinister work under the garb of Indian nationalism.

Thus the Hindus and the Muslims went their own separate ways and chalked out their own programmes. The parting of the ways, however, was not peaceful. There was a long ding-dong race, in which the advantage mostly rested with the better organized Hindu community. Yet the latter overshot the mark, and as Fate would have it, in the course of half a century India was divided into two parts, Bharat and Pakistan.

The cause of the Muslim community, once taken up by Sir Syed, was advanced by other Muslim political, social and intellectual leaders, most of them inspired by his singular zeal and devotion to duty, until the day when the Muslim community won a place for itself in the comity of Indian nations. Hali and particularly Iqbal were among the foremost thinkers who framed our new ideology for us, while Qaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah implemented it.

Sir Syed's programme was mainly educational, but it also extended to other fields of national activity. As we have seen, he reinterpreted Islam for his people in the light of new liberal ideas, and in a manner which would befit the needs of the times. The Muslims were to eschew the superstitions and eliminate the unhealthy foreign influences that had crept into their simple and humanitarian creed in the course of their moral and general degradation, and they were to recover the true spirit of Islam, with its emphasis on equality, fraternity, social justice and freedom from all unnecessary restrictions on human thought and action.

On the one hand, this was done to make the so-called religious people truly religious; but, on the other hand, Sir Syed foresaw the acute hidden dangers resulting from the sophistication and self-conceit produced by a purely secular scientific education. He therefore tried to counterbalance it by inculcating the virtues of self-denial and broad human

sympathies, and to achieve this end, along with secular education, he provided religious instruction and created, through his personal example and initiative and by various other means, a progressive Islamic atmosphere capable of inspiring the nation with a deep sense of attachment to the true teachings and traditions of Islam.

To all appearances, Sir Syed did not devise a definite political programme for his people, but in fact he marked out for them the road on which they were to march to the goal of their ultimate political emancipation. That is why it is sometimes said that it was Sir Syed who laid the foundations of Pakistan.

Not long after Sir Syed's death, some of the far-sighted Muslim leaders clearly envisaged the danger inherent in a neutral and negative political policy. The Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) had awakened the East, and as a result of this awakening, and also as a counter-measure against Curzon's contempt for Indians and his partition of Bengal, a country-wide agitation and a Swadeshi movement was started by the Hindus. Under these circumstances, the Muslim leaders gathered together to form a political association, and in October 1906, with a view to participating in the coming political reforms, they organized an all-India Muslim Deputation to wait on Lord Minto, with the object of impressing upon the Government the necessity of recognizing the separate existence of the Muslim community. The end of the same year saw the establishment of the All-India Muslim League at Dacca. In 1909 the Morley-Minto Reforms were introduced, and the Muslims secured separate communal representation in the new Councils.

In 1911 at the Delhi Darbar, the partition of Bengal, a measure which had to some extent benefited the Muslims, was rescinded to appease the Indian "nationalists." Soon afterwards the Muslims got other violent shocks in the Tripoli war (1911), and the Balkan war (1912), in which open aggression was committed against Turkey, with the active connivance of England and other European Powers. The Muslims' loyalty to their rulers was also put to a severe

test by the First World War (1914-18), which among other things ended in the dismemberment of Turkey.

Meanwhile, during the war, Hindu and Muslim leaders, feeling an urge for the democratic advancement of India, collaborated and entered into the famous Congress-League Lucknow Pact (1916), and arrived with a good grace at an understanding about their separate communal representation in the Legislative Councils. This united front coupled with the strains and stresses of a prolonged war forced Britain to make a Declaration (on 20th August, 1917), promising self-government to India through stages of gradual development.

The Great War I which ended in November 1918 did not simply mean a victory of the Allies ; it brought about some important and crucial political and social changes that were profoundly to affect the future course of world events. Germany was defeated and humbled, and the Allies appeared and behaved as overlords of the earth. But the war did not restore the political balance to its original position. A sinister and disturbing revolution had broken out in Russia, and in spite of all the efforts and intrigues of the Allies, a hydra-headed monster raised its head in Eastern Europe, with strange ugly possibilities for future world peace and security. Turkey was broken up and divided as war booty among the Allies and their henchmen. But here the tables were soon turned against the proud conquerors. Turkey in her downfall and humiliation found a saviour in the person of Ataturk, whose voice made itself heard in the august counsels of the great Powers and resulted in a general awakening of the Muslim world. Other weaker nations too, like India, felt the impact of new ideas generated by the war, which can indeed be considered as ushering in a new era in international relations.

But, in spite of all this universal upheaval, the British Government in India had not learnt much wisdom, and as soon as the war was over, they passed in the teeth of a united Indian opposition the notorious Rowlatt Act of 1919 ; when agitation was organized against it, the Government declared Martial Law, indulging in all sorts of coercive and repres-

sive measures. According to the natural law of retribution, the rulers had to pay dearly for these repressive measures. Events brought Gandhiji to the fore, and the whole course of future Indian history took a new turn.

In the present review of events, we would ordinarily have stopped at the end of the First World War, as we are essentially concerned with the life-story of one who died a few months before its termination. But the war had very important consequences, and it would be well to cast just a cursory glance at what happened afterwards.

Gandhiji's non-co-operation movement, begun in 1920, to all appearances temporarily failed in 1922, yet amid all the Hindu-Muslim riots, the coming and going of the new Reformed Councils, the several imprisonments of Gandhiji and other political leaders, the triumph of the Congress Governments (1937), the Pakistan Resolution (1940), and the Muslim League struggle which inspired the Muslim masses, it was the Gandhi non-co-operation movement which came up again and again in its various forms during the next quarter of a century, and became ultimately one of the most important factors in the achievement of the independence of India and Pakistan. It is true that we Muslims have had certain just complaints against Gandhiji and his associates, who in effect wanted to keep India united and thus to continue their domination over the Muslims. Yet, it would be only fair for us to admit that had it not been for that great Indian leader, we would have taken somewhat longer to achieve our independence!

"Out of evil cometh forth good." The British repression stimulated Indian self-respect, the Gandhi movement forged a new and novel instrument to undermine and defeat Imperialism, and the overweening attitude of a section of the Hindu leaders forced the complacent Muslims to wake up and assert themselves.

It is idle to speculate over what might have been ; it is best to face facts and try to improve upon them. Under the circumstances what happened produced, along with some unfortunate consequences, some very happy results.

Who can deny that the Muslim rule broke the isolation of India and, by confronting her with an entirely new set of values and new ways of living, helped to inject fresh blood into her veins ? As to British rule, it is clear that, with all its drawbacks, it brought us into touch with world currents of an entirely new and different character and thus helped to awaken both among Hindus and Muslims a new sense of national democracy, and a realistic and scientific view of life.

Reverting now to the beginning of the twentieth century to take up the thread of our story, we find that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had left behind a group of Muslim patriotic leaders who, partly inspired by him and partly influenced by some novel and unique happenings in the modern world, took upon themselves the important task of guiding the destinies of their community in the various fields of public and private activity. These were the eminent Musalmans, who with the national goal before their eyes and love of their fellow-beings in their hearts, did yeoman service to the cause of Muslim regeneration in India.

To name but a few of these distinguished men, we may mention Syed Amir Ali and Allama Iqbal among the authors and poets ; Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Viqar-ul-Mulk and Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan among the Aligarh educationists ; Hakim Ajmal Khan among the social workers ; the Agha Khan, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Husain Imam, the Ali Brothers, Sir Muhammad Shafi and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah among the politicians ; and last but not least Justice Syed Mahmood, Sir Abdur Rahim, Sir Shah Sulaiman and Justice Shah Din among the judges.

As we shall have occasion to observe, the subject of our story, though later known as the most prominent judge of the Punjab Chief Court, possessed in fact an all-round personality whose sterling worth lay, not so much in his outstanding ability as in his indomitable courage, and his unostentatious and unswerving righteousness !

2

MIAN MUHAMMAD SHAH DIN

Parentage and Early Life

MIAN Muhammad Shah Din was born in the village of Baghbanpura, near Lahore, on 2nd April, 1868. He came of a family of historic associations residing near Shalamar Gardens, Lahore, of which they were till recently the hereditary custodians since the days of the Emperor Shah Jahan.

Mian Muhammad Yusuf, commonly known as Mehr Mahenga, the ancestor of the Family, who was appointed as the first custodian of the Royal Gardens, was granted the site of the present village of Baghbanpura which he founded perhaps about a couple of years before Shah Jahan visited the Gardens for the first time on 31st October, 1642. Mehr Mahenga died about the year 1669, and was buried in, what later on became, the graveyard of the "Mian Family," where his grave can still be seen. Sixth in descent from Mian Muhammad Yusuf was Mian Qadir Bakhsh (the grandfather of Mian Shah Din), who, as related by the Lahore historian, won a distinction for himself in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, not only as a profound Arabic and Persian scholar, a physician and a poet but also as an expert in the art of gunnery.*

"Descended from ancestors who combined refined intellectual tastes with lives of physical activity for which those days afforded so much scope, Mian Shah Din was pre-

* For this and other passages quoted here see *Eminent Musalmans*, pages 372-73, published by *The Indian Review*, Madras in 1925.

eminently a man of intellect, and his triumphs were mostly confined to the intellectual arena."*

His career as a student from his schooldays till his return from England is one of considerable interest. Early in life, he was sent to the local family mosque, where he completed the "reading of the Quran" at the age of six. Meanwhile, he joined the Vernacular Middle School at Baghbanpura in 1873, where he stood first in the Lahore District in the Middle School Examination in 1879. "In this school, he got that thorough grounding in Urdu and Persian literature and that taste for indigenous poetry which characterized him and furnished striking contrast to the majority of England-returned gentlemen, in whom high intellectual culture in the language of the West means absolute want of sympathy with the literature of their own land."

His mother, a calm, quiet and conscientious lady, died about this time, her husband having passed away three years earlier. Thus their seven children whose ages ranged from four to eighteen years were left as orphans, with a debt over their heads, which their industrious father had been forced to incur owing to a loss incurred in the running of a small brick-kiln, his main source of income.

We have already noted how the eldest of them, Mian Zahur-ud-Din, through his perseverance, hard work and good luck, and helped by two of his younger brothers (Taj Din and Shah Din), steered the frail boat of the family through troubled waters, until they weathered the storm and began to sail in comparative calm.

Even in early youth Mian Shah Din was a quiet, studious and thoughtful boy. It was related by his younger sister how she remembered with amusement the story of a certain mouse playing hide and seek in a room in their old house. Her industrious brother complained more than once quite seriously that it disturbed his studies at night and wondered why it resorted to such annoying tactics.

* See Muhammad Latif's *Lahore*, page 387 (published in 1892 and again in 1957).

He was fond of playing with tops, and this was perhaps his only pastime. From his early schooldays, and throughout his college career, he would invariably take some of his books and retire to the fresh and soothing atmosphere of Shalamar Gardens. There he would occasionally have his exercise by running round and round the extensive and beautiful waterpond, and then sit down in a quiet corner, under a shady tree, to study and ponder. Years later when a cousin asked him the secret of his success in life, he enthusiastically referred to the beauty and solitude of Shalamar Gardens, which moulded his character and acted as a source of inspiration in his early days. Sometimes he lived for several days and nights on end in the rooms situated under the stately turret ("burj") over the Royal Baths. On one such occasion when the turret was undergoing elaborate repairs, a portion of it, along with the scaffolding, suddenly came toppling down with a terrifying crash just as he was coming out of the lower storey, the entire surroundings being darkened by great pieces of lime and stone and flying dust. This narrow escape made him think that Providence in saving him thus meant to convey to him that he was destined to do something worthwhile in life.

Though reserved and quiet he was no bookworm. While still a boy he had wide intellectual and social interests. Besides working regularly at his school books, he began in his hours of leisure to write poetry in Persian and Urdu, and when his elder brother came to know of it by chance, he requested him not to divulge the secret to any one else. However, when the eldest brother was apprised of it, he openly encouraged him in this intellectual pastime. From that moment he began to participate in the poetical symposiums at Baghbanpura and later at Lahore under the nom de plume (تخلص) of "Humayun" (ھمایوں) from the age of ten years upwards. Nine years later when he sailed for England, he left behind him a collection of his Urdu and Persian poems with his elder brother, who on his return from England gave back the papers to him. Mian

Shah Din in spite of the protests of his elder brother threw the note-book into the fire, saying that he would not like to see the antiquated type of artificial love lyrics (ghazaliat) preserved, since they were devoid of realism and the life-giving quality of true poetry. Fortunately, about half a dozen of these early ghazals have been found printed in the old Punjab University Periodical *Guldasta-i-Sakhun* (گلدستۂ سخن) of 1880, when the young poet was only twelve years old. Some of the verses he then composed seem quite remarkable for his age.

Besides taking part in such intellectual pursuits, young Shah Din co-operated with his eldest brother in the organisation and working of "Anjuman-i-Islah-i-Zamindaran", (انجمن اصلاح زمیندارا‌ن) which was founded at Baghbanpura about the year 1881 or soon afterwards. The newspaper *The Regenerator of Arya Varta* dated 1st October, 1883, eulogizes Maulvi Zahur-ud-Din as a "meritorious young pleader of the local Bar, for founding "The Zamindars' Reforming Society" and thus undertaking the noble task of social reform.

In connection with the work of social welfare, there is quite a romantic and interesting incident which occurred in the life of Mian Shah Din about this time. For this we have to delve into the rather private life of the Mian Family In those days marital contracts in this country were usually entered into by the parents rather than by the young people themselves. In 1887, a baby girl named Zebun Nisa was born in another (and richer) branch of the Mian Family. Mian Shah Din's mother, who was then alive, personally approached the girl's mother in order to make a proposal on his behalf though he was then only nine years old. The richer household turned down the request rather abruptly, and the girl was soon (perhaps before the age of two or three years) engaged to another boy. Who could have guessed then that Providence would so arrange things that she would be "disengaged" and would one day be linked anew and become Begum Shah Din? Young Shah Din who had probably never even seen the little girl, wrote in

the newspaper *Rahbar-i-Hind* of Lahore a series of articles from 10th May, 1881 to 16th April, 1883 under the assumed name of Zebun Nisa on the social reforms then being carried on by Mian Zahur-ud-Din and others at Baghbanpura. The editor of the paper paid a glowing tribute to the writer, but doubted if a woman was capable of writing in such a high-flown style. A lively controversy, full of humour and repartee, ensued in which the poor editor had at last to apologize and surrender to the "brilliant lady-writer."

Educational Career

In 1883, Mian Shah Din passed the Matriculation Examination from the Rang Mahal Mission High School, Lahore, and stood first in English in the Province. On this he was offered the post of a translator under the Government, which in those days was considered a position of some importance. However he refused to accept the job, and joined instead the Government College, as he was very eager to continue his studies. It is a curious and happy coincidence that later in his life he had the pleasure of seeing his favourite daughter Asghari Khanum (who later married Mian Muhammad Rafi, son of Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi), win similar distinction in English in the Matriculation Examination, standing first in the Province among all the candidates.

He graduated from the Government College in 1887, and stood second in the University Final Examination, missing the first place simply on account of feeling slightly nervous in the science practical test.

Long afterwards, when Mian Shah Din died, a contributor wrote in a local newspaper that once when the young man was in the third year class he wrote on some educational topic an essay in such good English that his professor spoke of it in these glowing words: "I thought I was reading Lord Macaulay."*

* Malik Muhammad Ali in *Arrai*, Lahore dated 27th July, 1918.

As at the end of his successful school career, so now again at the end of his brilliant college career, he was offered lucrative positions where he could be securely employed. His eldest brother, who like a father gave him both financial and moral support, asked him what he wanted to do, whereupon he respectfully enquired if he could be sent to England for legal education. The response was immediate and positive ; as desired, the funds were provided for him to proceed to England soon afterwards.

A few days before Mian Shah Din left for England he injured his arm rather badly while playing "kabaddi" at Baghbanpura, but he would not postpone his departure on that account, and left his home on the appointed day with his arm in a sling.

As we have seen, he had a distinguished school and college career. He was a quiet, thoughtful young man, exceptionally intelligent and very hardworking. He was full of enthusiasm, yet naturally restrained. He was gifted with a vivid imagination, yet at the same time he was realistic, unsophisticated and practical. From his early days he had a touch of the romantic and a vein of the philosophical and spiritual in him, but a strict puritanism and a natural reserve, then as ever afterwards, veiled and hid these lofty trends from the peering gaze of an ever curious world. Along with it and in spite of it, he took lively interest in such practical matters as measures for the social amelioration and moral uplift of his community.

In August* 1887, Mian Shah Din proceeded to England

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* *The C. & M. Gazette*, Lahore, dated 16-9-1962, quoting from its edition of "75 years ago" (16-9-1887) writes under the caption, "Maulvi Shah Din" :—

"Maulvi Muhammad Shah Din, B.A., sailed for England by the mail steamer of 30th ultimo. The Maulvi was a student of the Lahore College, and recently took a very successful B.A. degree. He goes to England to study for the Bar and is the first Muslim graduate who has gone from this Province for the purpose of legal studies ; and we wish him success and hope to see him return a full-blown barrister."

to study for the Bar, as a member of the Middle Temple Inn. He showed as much aptitude for this new field of studies as he had done for literature, and won three lecture prizes awarded by the Council of Legal Education in Roman Law and Jurisprudence, International Law, and Constitutional History. He also gained the Campbell Forster Prize and Scholarship from his own inn. * He was called to the Bar in June 1890. Lala Ganpat Rai, a Lahore Advocate, related later that he had first met Mian Shah Din in the London Inns of court, and that there he had heard an Englishman say, with regard to his proficiency in English, that he would be a leading scholar in his time and would be one of the worthy sons of India—a prophecy which turned out to be true. †

Mian Shah Din wrote articles for the newspapers and periodicals in England (including the Journal of the Indian Association), and along with some of his other Indian Muslim friends he also addressed public meetings in defence of Muslim religious and political interests. "His connection with public life began in England, where in conjunction with a few other Muslim young men from India (among them Sir Abdur Rahim and Sir Ali Imam), he helped in the foundation (on 10th November, 1889), of Anjuman-i-Islamia London, which was the first of its kind in the British Isles and which for many years did very useful work and became a recognized institution. Mr. Shah Din held the office of its Vice-President till his departure." ‡

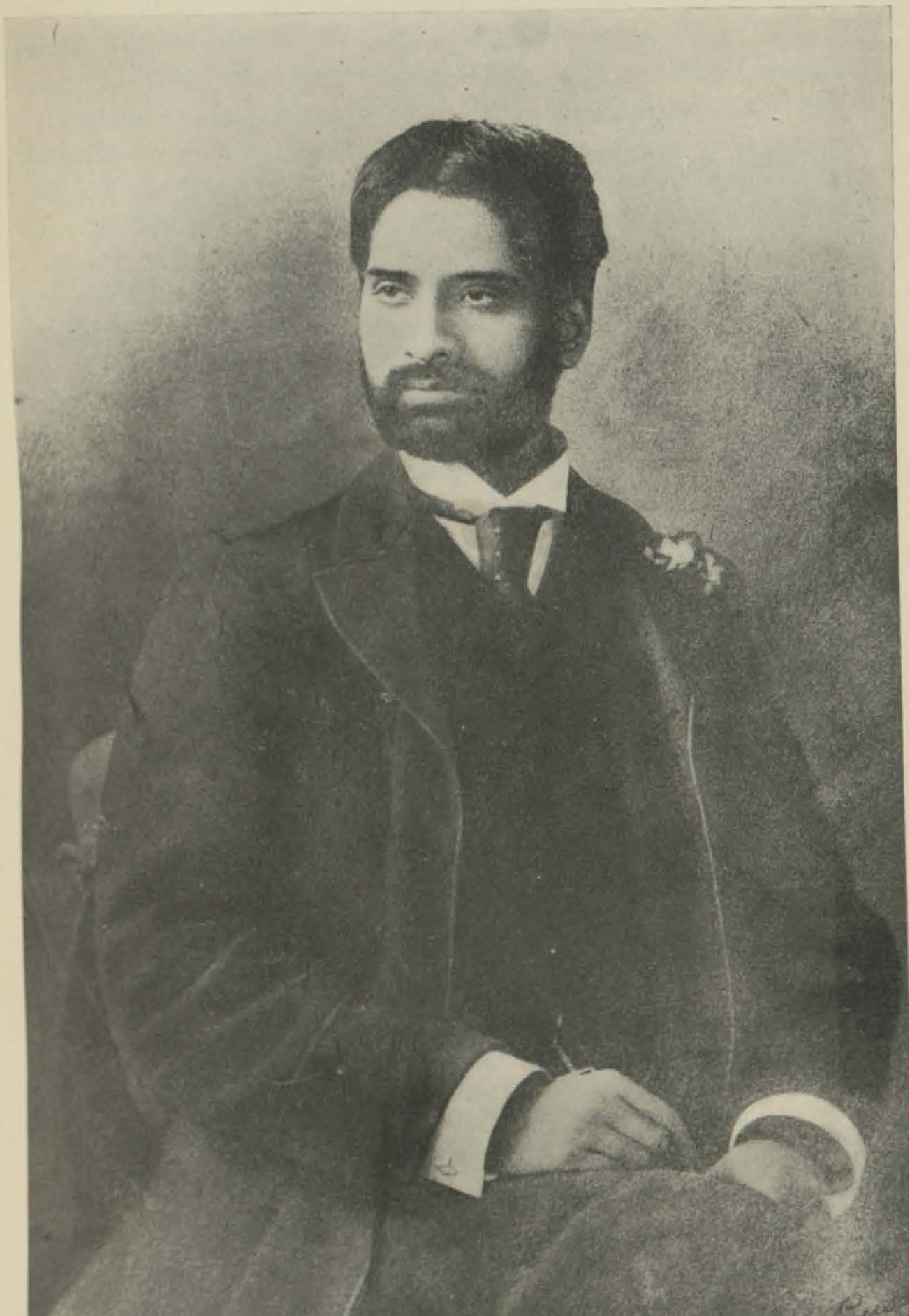
Some of the press cuttings preserved by him during this period show the wide range of his public interests. A few examples will suffice :—*The Times Weekly Edition* (TWE), dated 25th November, 1887 : "The India of the Queen"

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* *The Times* (dated 13-1-1890 quoted by *The Civil and Military Gazette*, dated 11-2-1890) wrote : "This speaks volumes for the legal ability of Mr. M. Shah Din."

† *The Tribune*, dated 7th July, 1918, speech in a Lahore public condolence meeting.

‡ *Eminent Musalmans* (page 374).



MIAN SHAH DIN (as a student in England)

(which refers to the 1858 proclamation pledges, their fulfilment and result) ;—"The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin" ;—TWE, dated 25th May, 1888 : "The Indian National Congress" ;—A summary of the British Parliamentary Proceedings ;—TWE, dated 18th November, 1889 : "Islam in Africa" (a letter to the editor on the courage displayed by Canon Taylor in acknowledging the success of the propagation of Islam as against Christian Missions) ;—*The Review of Reviews* : * "What we have to come to" (imaginatively depicting the future and the end of the world).

As Mian Shah Din was not an aristocrat, who could squander his money freely and aimlessly, he was strict and economical in his expenditure as a student. Yet realizing that he had come over to the progressive West to imbibe all kinds of useful knowledge and learning, he did not restrict himself to his legal studies or mere book-lore but also explored other ways of widening the horizon of his information and culture. His letters to his brother, and to the press, the Urdu poems he wrote abroad,† as also some of the lectures he delivered after arrival at home, show how much he learnt and benefited from his observations and experiences as well as from his travels in the British Isles and on the continent.

Public Career (1890-93)

Mian Shah Din reached Lahore in September 1890. Even before his arrival, he had become known to a large number of people as an impressive writer and speaker.

"A series of very readable letters from his pen depicting in picturesque language the beautiful natural scenery of the

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* Unfortunately the date of this could not be traced.

† See his Urdu poems جذبات همايوں for such pieces as "شمالی ویلز میں ایک طوفانی دن" (A Stormy Day in North Wales), کلسیم روما (Coliseum, Rome), "بحیرہ روم میں ایک صبح" (A Dawn in the Mediterranean). The last poem later inspired his son-in-law, Mian Muhammad Rafi to produce a beautiful painting illustrating it, along with a transcription of the poem.

Lake District, of Wales and of Scotland appeared in *The Civil and Military Gazette* in September and October 1890, and in *The Punjab Patriot* in January to March 1891, which displayed remarkable descriptive powers, a well-developed aesthetical faculty and a wonderful command of English idiom. These were followed later by a series of graphic letters from the valley of Kashmir, which were widely read and admired."*

In one of the letters relating to his travels in Britain, Mian Shah Din said: "For a long time I had felt the desire to go out of town and roam about, if time allowed of it, in green fields and silent valleys, and breathe fresh country air like a bird released by some kindly hands from its caged confinement. . . .We hurried past beauteous forms. I gazed at them and gazed again and gazed on until I fancied I could see in them the image of beauty, joy, grace and grandeur."

After reaching Lahore, he delivered an interesting lecture at a well-attended meeting in the Town Hall, on 25th October 1890, on "A Few Ideas about England", and soon became famous as a man of exceptional ability and vision, who faithfully interpreted the dynamic civilization of the West for the benefit of his community. "England," he said, "is a truly wonderful place. The ceaseless activity of the Western people presents a remarkable instructive contrast to the lifeless inertia of the East. The average intellectual temperature in England is much higher than in this country, and the least germ of intelligence in the dullest mind under such stimulating influences cannot but expand. There must of course be a living germ in the man capable of expansion if he wants to be benefited by a visit to England, for the dead do not feel and the blind cannot see. There are some souls which like palsied bodies have in them no motion. To such a visit to England is worse than useless. But to such as are endowed by

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* *Eminent Musalmans* (page 378). Unfortunately the Kashmir letters could not be traced.

kind Nature with average human capacity to appreciate the virtues of a nation, a few years' stay in England may do worlds of good. . .It is in England that we see and realize what man has done and what man can do."

Soon after he left for Dera Ismail Khan, where his eldest brother Mian Zahur-ud-Din had already made a name for himself as one of the leading lawyers of the Frontier. Mian Shah Din stayed there for a couple of months, learning a lawyer's work under the guidance of his brother. Maulvi Nur Bukhsh, a venerable old retired advocate of Dera Ismail Khan, in a letter dated February 12, 1960, gives his impression of the two brothers—the liveliness of Mian Zahur-ud-Din and the ability of Mian Shah Din. Mian Shah Din, he says, was the first man among the Punjab Muslims to produce a deep impression by his public speeches and lectures, and to persuade them to take their proper place in the political life of the country.

In the beginning of 1891 Mian Shah Din was enrolled as an advocate of the Punjab Chief Court (16th January, 1891), after which he started his practice in Lahore.

As a young junior lawyer, he had to put in hard work for some time before he could distinguish himself in the profession. But he did not confine himself only to the law; he looked around and found that there was much to be done, whereby he could usefully serve his community.

He started by laying the foundation of a Young Men's Muhammadan Association, of which he was elected President, and through which he established for himself the position of a "guide, philosopher and friend" to the numerous (Muslim) young men who might seek his help or advice. The Association held its meetings regularly and frequently at his house, where lively debates were held and interesting papers were read dealing with various social, educational and intellectual subjects which could prove useful to the Muslims at large. In the capacity of President "he came into personal and intimate touch with many of the rising generation, influencing and being influenced by them and thus creating a large following of

friends and admirers. Some of those who came into contact with him as students, and in whose progress and advancement he took a lively interest, passed out of their college into active life in the course of time, and became men of influence in their own station, and a source of strength to him, in whom young Muslims rightly recognized a leader of firm principles and strong convictions, whose public and private life furnished a laudable example of devotion to duty, of patriotism and of purity."* Our well-known poet Iqbal, Sheikh (later Sir) Abdul Qadir, Mian Abdul Aziz, Falak Paima and several others were closely associated with Mian Sahib in the work of the Association, and were encouraged and helped by him in their career.

Eighteen years after the foundation of Y.M.M.A., Mirza Ijaz Husain in a letter to Mian Sahib dated 7th February, 1916, wrote :—"You have been the distinguished pioneer of Muslim education in the Punjab. From the early nineties when I was a mere boy reading for the Matric, I have had before me my idol, my ideal of sound learning, high character and of quiet unostentatious public service."

Mian Abdul Aziz, Falak Paima, writing later † extolled these intellectual gatherings, which usually ended with the eloquent speech of the President, whose foremost aim was the creation and encouragement of national sentiment among the Muslim youth.

On the first anniversary of the Association (in January, 1892) Mian Shah Din delivered a learned and inspiring lecture on "Islam in Africa" which is of peculiar importance in view of the recent phenomenal awakening in that once dark and backward Continent. It shows his sincere and intense feeling for Islam and the deep interest he took in Islamic history and Muslim achievements. He wrote : "It is indeed difficult at times to resist feeling a certain

* *Eminent Musalmans*, page 375.

† Article entitled "The Times of Mian Shah Din" *The Humayun*, January, 1932).

glow of enthusiasm at the idea that in these days of lukewarm beliefs and contemptuous indifference to all forms of religion, there should now and then arise within the Muslim breast such soul-stirring emotions of sympathy and fervour of faith as unconsciously link the individual believer with the strength of an iron chain, to the vast community of the faithful resting in the bosom of the historic past. Old ideas about religion and time-honoured prejudices which have hitherto stifled the reason of man, are no doubt still lingering amongst us, but the dark mantle of night may yet be lifted and the benighted wayfarer on the path of religious life may soon see the signs of an approaching dawn"..."You may not have the leisure, but you ought certainly to have the desire for studying in some of its important bearings the religious system which from the moment of your birth has created around you a moral and social atmosphere in which you live and move and have your being, and which has furnished the world with a code of healthy rules that regulate the conduct of countless millions of your fellow men from the cradle to the grave...The rapid spread of Islam in Central and Western Africa is a bright and unsullied record of quiet teaching and preaching of simple elementary truths, of familiar intercourse with the natives; of little daily acts of human kindness; of disinterested zeal for the well-being of the people; of noble precept and noble example; of singleness of purpose and loftiness of aim, of unswerving devotion in duty, and lastly of that deep-rooted soul-stirring religious earnestness, magnetic in its influence over the fetish-worshipping Pagans, which imparts to the Muslim world a power, a coherence and an irresistible healthy impulse invisible to the eye, but clearly traceable in the grand world-wide work of spiritual reform by the great traders of Islam...Islam has created a future for Africa, has brought together the scattered elements of wild races, has focussed into one dominant idea the varied energies of the Negro, and awakened within his breast aspirations the satisfaction of which will materially add to the sum-total

of human happiness in this world. For this noble work so nobly done, we are deeply grateful to the unpaid Muslim missionaries, who disdaining the inviting comforts of sweet home, push their way into the interior of Africa, and through sympathetic intercourse with the Negro instil simple notions of piety and purity into his receptive mind. . . .They are the soldiers of an idea for the realization of which they fight with weapons keener by far though softer than steel. . .The rising tide of Islam is sweeping in one unbroken wave across a whole continent, over rivers and plains, over hills and vales, and fertilising the virgin soil, where seeds of truth, hope and charity will soon fructify to enrich the world with an abundant harvest of the elevation of the backward races of man ! Yes, glad tidings not for you only but also for those with whom the ultimate good of mankind, in whatever shape and form, whatever source, is the sole object in view and of sovereign importance ; whose all-embracing sympathies transcend narrow race-limitations and crystallized forms of human creed; who recognize and admire the common elements of truth in each prevailing religion and are biassed in favour of none. It is from this point of view that I regard the advance of Islam in Africa and earnestly look forward to hopeful results."

During the previous year (1891) Mian Shah Din had written a number of articles in the press. In "The Money-lender and the Zamindar" he espoused the cause of the zamindars who were then a backward class. In "Home classes for Purdah Ladies" he pleaded on behalf of a secluded down-trodden section of the community. "So far," he wrote, "the fashionable political uproar of to-day has drowned the feeble voice of the reformer for earnest social reform. . .We have assuredly stopped short of setting on foot a vigorous and well-organized movement for raising the status of our woman. . .A reform of public administration is a great desideratum which we must not ignore, but a reform of the household is at least equally imperative. A man ought to be a really good

husband and a truly kind father before he can claim to be a good citizen."

Before this in his first public lecture on "A few Ideas about England" delivered in October 1890 at Lahore, he had already held out to his countrymen the example of English women who he thought presented a higher and nobler type of womanhood than the average Indian woman. "Even a superficial observer of English life could not fail to discern in them a spontaneity, an independence and a strength of character which make them a real moral power in society. They were no mere chattels or made only to minister to the wants of man. Mere brute force as represented by the stronger animal man did not govern English social life. There was fair workable equality between man and woman. She exercised a refining, ennobling influence on society and was in the best sense of the term the educator of man. There was between husband and wife a communion of thought and an active sympathy that was lacking in India. They were cheerful fellow-travellers on the thorny path of life. His soul spoke to her soul, and they traversed the whole diapason of human existence in wonderful harmony. The cultured woman in England descended like an angel into the world of men and lifted them up to her own higher level. Brute force in man had been transplanted by gentleness and peace and a noble respect for woman."

Twenty-three years later, speaking as the President of the Muhammadan Educational Conference on 26th December 1913, he drew the urgent attention of his community to the education and uplift of women in these words :— "In the West, woman has been playing for a long time past a by no means unimportant part in the healthy evolution of national life, and of recent years signs are not wanting in the East, and especially in our own country, to show that the weaker sex is inwardly feeling its strength and seriously means to step out of its accustomed seclusion to take an honourable and increasing interest in the more practical concerns of the outside world.

It is impossible now to stem the tide which is flowing in this direction, even if some of you with a supreme contempt for the needs of the times, were to think of doing so, and you would be well-advised so to regulate it as to be able to divert it into proper channels. The enormous influence of women on the essentially human side of the character of mankind must be obvious to the most superficial observer; and our first duty at the present moment is to refine and purify that influence in our country, and to bring it to bear upon the totality of our individual and corporate life in order to make it more fruitful in relation to the great movements of the world...No scheme of national education will be complete among the Indian Muhammadans which does not make ample provision for the education of women on modern lines, with special reference to the peculiar needs of a progressive Islamic community. This does not by any means imply the wholesale adoption of the methods of instruction and of the standards of culture which have come to be associated with Western civilization; we in the East have our own distinctive traditions and predominant tendencies of thought, and we must evolve a new type of culture as the result of a wholesome combination of the Asiatic and European systems of training...The education of girls must proceed *pari passu* with that of the boys."

Finally while deploring that the Indian Musalmans had still very primitive ideas on the subject, he concluded by saying: "There is urgent need of emphasizing this principle in our national system of education, and the public mind must be trained to recognize its importance."

His practical proposals to institute Home classes for purdah ladies in 1891 were implemented by the Punjab Association, Lahore, of which he later became the honorary secretary (1905), in which capacity we still find him working earnestly for women's education and uplift in 1913-14, even while he was a judge of the Chief Court.

His fervent "Appeal to the Indian Musalmans," drawing the attention of the community to the deplorable insanitary

condition of Mecca and the other holy places, was published all over India, by *The Times of India, The Tribune, The Observer* and many other newspapers in August 1891. "It is we who are chiefly to blame," he said, "we the educated well-to-do Muhammadans of this country...It is time that we in India should be up and doing...A central Association may be started with branches all over the country for carrying on the work of collecting funds."

In 1892, barely two years after Mian Shah Din's return from England, Syed Muhammad Latif the author of the well-known book on Lahore, wrote of him as follows: "He is a gifted man, with a literary genius. As a public speaker, his speeches have excited universal admiration. In him young Punjab may feel a just pride. Though still quite a youth, his manners are so polished, and his behaviour is so polite that he is endeared to and respected by all his countrymen."*

Mian Shah Din and the Aligarh Movement

Syed Ahmad Khan's name was already a household word in the Punjab. Mian Shah Din had long ago become his ardent admirer and had defended him vigorously in an article on "Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his libellers," published in *The Punjab Patriot* (27th March 1893).

Towards the end of the year he went to Aligarh to participate in the 8th Annual Session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference where he read a comprehensive and most valuable paper on "The Education of Musalmans in the Punjab" (28th December 1893) †

"Of recent years," he wrote, "Muhammadan public opinion in the Punjab, in conformity with a general awakening among the Musalmans all over India, has taken a decided bent in favour of initiating an organized movement directed towards making amends for our past

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* *Lahore* by Syed Muhammad Latif (page 345).

† This and most of the other papers and articles etc. referred to here will be found in the latter part of the book.

neglect in the matter of education." He also commented: "If there is any Muhammadan Society in the Punjab which deserves special credit for a really practical, sustained and patriotic attempt to rouse the Punjab Musalmans from their deep lethargy and to hold up to them an ideal well worth imitation, it is the "Himayat-i-Islam" of Lahore. And about the M.A.O. College of Aligarh he wrote: "It has set to the Indian Musalmans an example of self-help as brilliant as it is rare. We may be a paralysed nation...but we are not so wholly dead as to be incapable of benefitting from a supply of new blood in our veins. This magnificent College presents to Muhammadan India a high ideal of individual exertion, of mutual co-operation, and of noble self-reliance, which is best fitted to call forth the dormant energies of the nation and which carries our thoughts back to the early days of Islam."

While appreciating the efforts thus far made at Lahore and at Aligarh, he characterized them as wholly inadequate to meet the situation. Talking of the Punjab Muslims he said, "Let us be heartily ashamed of the astounding disproportion between loud professions and the deeds we have done. It is we alone who are to blame, we the Punjab Muhammadans, whose fondness for elegant talk is only excelled by our constitutional indisposition to translate that talk into some practical steps calculated to promote the national weal." Turning to Aligarh he said, "I regard this conference as only a bare attempt at the part performance of a duty we all owe to the helpless grovelling millions who have silently entrusted their destinies in our hands. We have indeed undertaken a serious responsibility by inaugurating this movement, and we have yet to show that the nation can reasonably expect a harvest of really good results from our operations."

Giving detailed statistics of Muhammadan educational progress he made a series of practical and useful suggestions for future progress, and finally he encouraged his community and called upon them to look to the bright side of the picture.

He said, "I have approached the subject more as a

student and an impartial critic than as a dogmatist and a flatterer...The time has certainly come when you must give articulate expression to the helpless thoughts of the Musalman masses in this country. This is not a barren appeal to your sentiment, but a sincere and a sacred call to duty, and knowing, as all of us here do, the glorious work that has been accomplished before our wondering eyes through the noble exertions of *one individual*, there is small reason why you should not meet this call with a devout response...What were the conditions of the Musalmans forty years back and what are they now?...The fruits of your labours you all see with your own eyes today in shapes which are too material to be ignored——labours which have made it possible for us for the first time to look up and call ourselves a nation. Yes, we are a nation now that we have amongst us a national institution, which in spite of its incompleteness commands our confidence and claims our undivided sympathy and invites us to rally round our national standard...Happily the period of our probation is about to end, as we have learnt now to bear with patience the severities of the modern age——not only to bear them but to profit by the wholesome discipline which they are meant to enforce. To those who can read the signs of the times, the future of our community is not altogether a hopeless blank...Just now we only require a skilful pilot, who can steer clear of the rocks on all sides, and land us in a place where, secure from all danger, we can work in peace and grow and prosper and create a happy world not only for ourselves but for all who are bound to us by sacred ties of fellow-feeling and of humanity ...From the bottom of our grateful hearts...with our minds bent upon righteous deeds and our hands uplifted to the Giver of all things, let us bend our knees reverently before the great Master who has said :—

ان اللہ لا یغیرما بقوم حتی یغیروا ما بانفسھم*

* "Verily God does not change the condition of a people until they change it themselves."

The facts and information furnished, the manner of presenting them, as well as the language and the delivery all produced an abiding effect on the audience, and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan himself was so much impressed by the learned discourse that soon afterwards he offered Mian Shah Din the Presidentship of the Muhammadan Educational Conference for the next year, and it was probably on this occasion that he is reported to have complimented the speaker by saying "That is the man for me"!* The report also added that an Englishman who was present at the time remarked :—"But for my eyes I would have thought that I was hearing an English speaker in Whitehall."

A somewhat similar remark was made to Mian Shah Din on the same occasion by Syed (later Mr. Justice) Mahmood, who embraced the speaker, and thereafter always affectionately called him "Bhai Shah Din".

Two days after this (on 30th December 1893) when Sir Syed, thinking the time had come to set up some sort of a political organization for Musalmans, founded the M.A.O. Defence Association of upper India, he encouraged Mian Shah Din to take a leading part in its formation, so that the resolution to constitute a Committee to draw up the rules was actually proposed by him, and he along with others represented the Punjab on the council of the Association. †

In December 1894 Mian Shah Din presided at the 9th Annual Session of the Educational Conference at Aligarh, a detailed account of which may be found in the Annual proceedings of the Muhammadan Educational Conference. He was probably the youngest chairman to preside at the Conference. His inaugural Urdu speech, pertinent and humorous as it was, was warmly applauded. He conducted

* See *The Arrai*, Lahore, 22-7-1918. Though the report does not specify at which of the many addresses of Mian Shah Din delivered at Aligarh the remarks quoted here were made, it is likely that they relate to the first paper read by him there.

† See *The Times of India*, January 20, 1898—and also *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, January 30, 1894.

the proceedings with confidence and tact, and on the next day, 28th December, he delivered a remarkable lecture in English addressed to the students of the Aligarh College, in which he put before them a high intellectual and moral ideal, clothed in beautiful words.

Mian Sahib himself related to the writer how one evening in Aligarh during these days, the great Sir Syed walked into his room, accompanied by Maulana Nazir Ahmad, Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Hali, Shibli and other close associates of his, and how one of them said that they had come to apologize to him for something that happened about a year ago, when he was nominated by Sir Syed as the president of the Conference. They had then represented to Sir Syed in all sincerity that they doubted his wisdom or expediency in choosing any one so young for such a high office, but now after seeing him conduct the proceedings with such ability and sobriety and hearing him address them in words pregnant with wisdom, wit and humour, they realized that they had blundered and had completely misjudged him, and that is why they had come to tell him so and to apologize. *

Mian Shah Din was elected a Trustee of the Aligarh College in 1896, and his intimate relations with Sir Syed were kept up until the great leader's death in 1898, and his close connection with and hearty support of the Aligarh movement continued as long as he himself lived. The attachment was so great that his wife relates how only on two or three occasions in his life did her courageous husband show outward signs of heartfelt grief, one of them being on the death of the great Sir Syed.

"The Aligarh College will long remember the services which he rendered to the institution in order to extricate

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* "Baba-i-Urdu" Maulvi Abdul Haq in a letter to the writer dated 21-8-1959 says: "I well remember the 1894 annual session of the Conference, which was held in the Strachey Hall of the Aligarh College and over which your father presided. His English address was much appreciated by all."

it from difficulties that arose after the death of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Principal Theodore Beck."*

That Mian Shah Din continued to take an active interest in the educational and cultural progress of the Muslims can be clearly seen from a perusal of the annual reports of the Muhammadan Educational Conference. For instance, in the thirteenth annual session of the Conference held in Calcutta in December 1899, we find that he vigorously supported a resolution moved on 29th December 1899 by Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk to the effect that, in the interest of education and development of vernacular literature, it was essential for the Urdu language with its Persian script to continue to be the only court language in the U.P. (i.e. United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), and for no other language to be substituted. Mian Shah Din in seconding the resolution pointed out that the Muslims of India were greatly perturbed at the efforts of the U.P. Hindus to induce the Government to substitute Hindi for Urdu and to use the Nagri script in place of the Persian script. Urdu, he said, was not only the *Lingua Franca* of India, being understood by every one from Peshawar to Calcutta, but was also the national language of the Indian Muslims and was written in the same script as that used by the neighbouring Muslim countries. The use of the Nagri script would mean that the Indian Muslims would be deprived of one of their great national assets which deprivation they clearly could not tolerate.†

In December 1913, Mian Shah Din presided a second time at the 27th session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference held in Agra. His presidential address on that occasion was considered by all competent judges to be one of the best contributions to the existing literature on Muhammadan Education inasmuch as it contained most valuable suggestions on many of the complex educational

* See *Eminent Musalmans* (pages 375-76).

† See Annual Report of 13th session of Muhammadan Educational Conference (pages 121-27).

problems, especially those affecting the future advancement of the Muhammadan community. The reactionary gronp in the Muslim community was upset at some of the progressive ideas expressed on this occasion. It was pointed out in this address that Sir Syed's policy still held the field, and that we had to advance with the times and look to our needs. The popular Muslim University movement was to be encouraged, but the technical educational matters were to be dealt with by experts and not the general public. Further, one University alone could not cater to the needs of the whole community: other educational institutions were also to be made use of and a comprehensive system of scholarships was to be instituted for deserving Muslim students. Moreover, it was time that the education of women on modern lines was taken in hand.

It was particularly stressed that the one crying need of the Muslims was self-discipline. Discipline was wanted in education, in literature, in social life. The community had to learn and unlearn several things, and in this connection contact with other communities and other faiths and races in India could be utilized to the ultimate advantage of the Indian Muslims.

The (Hindu) *Educational Review* of Madras in its issue of January 1914 reprinted the whole of this Presidential Address, and in commenting on it said :—"We commend it to our readers as a model of outspokenness and candour as well as a calm statesmanlike discussion of the educational position of the Muhammadan community of India, without the false sentiment and the false pride which characterise the hysterical utterances too common nowadays, not only in Muhammadan but also in Hindu Conferences. There is no glorification of the past at the expense of the present, no talk about the greatness of the knowledge and the methods of the Maulvi, such as we have recently too often heard about the Pandit and his encyclopaedic wisdom. He rightly deprecates the old training which produces 'an excess of zeal in the observance of religious ceremonial' manifesting

itself 'in extravagant forms to the utter disregard of the spirit underlying their religious precepts.' He goes further and denounces those who go through the university and pass examinations with credit but without really assimilating Western culture. Of such he says :—'In the student world he has the reputation of being a walking encyclopaedia of knowledge and his college fellows look up to him with nervous respect as a man of great erudition. But scratch him and you will find a barbarian, without a vestige of real culture in him, and he is nonetheless a barbarian because he carries a mountainous load of books on his back'. This criticism is equally true of Hindu scholars. Would that it were possible to find a Madras Justice who could speak equally frankly! While condemning unhesitatingly the multiplication of denominational universities, he advocates some very practical measures for the amelioration of the state of his co-religionists. The first and foremost is the establishment of an extensive system of scholarships and this is very necessary for the development of other Indian communities as well. The next is the encouragement of the study of science in colleges in preference to history and philosophy, for 'this is emphatically an industrial age.' There is no important failing of the Musalman Indians——and what he says of Musalman Indians is equally true of Hindu Indians—— which Mr. Shah Din does not touch on. He specifically condemns 'the want of self-discipline' which lies at the root of most of our national defects, want of self-discipline in ritual matters, and in our refusal to organize our charities, and to prevent them from being frittered away as they are. He notes the same want of self-discipline in vernacular poetry, which leads to 'the highest conception of human beauty' as 'a freak of nature with the mouth little bigger than a geometrical point and a waist thinner than a hair." He finally reminds his fellow Muhammadans that they have peculiar opportunities in India, since 'the commingling of the Saracenic and the Aryan civilizations in India marks the confluence of two intellectual streams of great potency,

and the future fertilization of the Eastern mind under the stimulating and refining influences of Western culture may well be regarded as a matter of sincere self-congratulation'."*

Mian Shah Din was an earnest and sincere upholder of Sir Syed's reforming and revolutionizing ideas. This can be gauged from a perusal of the three soul-stirring addresses he delivered on the death anniversaries of the great reformer from 1902 to 1904, wherein he depicted and enlarged upon the latter's work as the social, religious and political leader of the Musalmans.

In fact, in some particulars, for example in connection with religious reforms, he ventured to present some even more radical ideas, which completely upset the equanimity of some of the orthodox people, who criticized them violently. But here, as on other occasions, he was never afraid of adverse criticism and boldly faced the narrow-minded opposition of his community.

In his first address on the death anniversary of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan delivered on 29th March, 1902, and entitled "The Living Influence of the Dead," he said :—"It is impossible to speak of existing human activities, and of their ultimate bearing upon the prospective well-being of men, without referring to that great commonwealth of the dead buried under the debris of bygone ages, which has left for our guidance an interminable list of decrees indelibly written upon the Scroll of Time. And what occasion can there be more befitting than the anniversary of the death of the great man whose life was the concentrated essence of much that is beautiful and durable in thought and action, and whose death only added another to the large number of powerful forces which are propelling the unwieldy car of humanity on the highway of progress towards a better ideal of existence...We must not only admire Sir Syed Ahmad Khan for his great qualities——his deep earnestness, moral courage, untiring energy, firmness of purpose, originality of conception, a keen political intellect, and strong

* *The Educational Review* (Madras), January, 1914.

common sense——we must not only admire him for these, but we must also each of us resolve in all conscience to cultivate these qualities as assiduously as he did and to interweave them into our individual natures, so as to make them enter into and strengthen the very texture of our national character."

Referring to our great religion, the writer appealed to the nation in these words :—"You must make Islam once more a living faith and a motive force that will create in you an irresistible onward impulse, you must observe and you must persuade others to observe the spirit underlying the letter of the law. . . Remember also that under the altered conditions of modern progress, no faith can live and flourish unless it is wedded to the highest truth and virtue, and unless in all the departments of human activity it places the increasingly complex human relations on the stable foundations of a refined morality."

In his second address, delivered on 30th March 1903, on "Sir Syed Ahmad Khan as a Religious Reformer" Mian Shah Din said :—"My own view is that necessity for religious reform among Indian Musalmans is as paramount as ever; and signs are not entirely wanting that the more thoughtful among us are lamenting the woeful Muhammadan situation in India created by the prevalence in our own society of the most preposterous beliefs and practices which form no part of Islam. . . The time will soon come when new conditions of life, brought into existence by an advanced civilization, will force new questions on the Muslim mind." He then pleads, among other things, for permission to read the Quran in one's own language as well, and for the adoption of a new and more modern view about the seclusion of women. He proceeds :—"Syed Ahmad Khan could not, indeed no thinker can lay down the precise lines of thought for all time to come ; and in your quest after religious and moral progress you will have to go farther than he did, and seek for yourselves new methods of advance." And he ends thus :—"Come, my brethren-in-Islam, let us cheerfully and manfully respond to this noble call which, though human,

partakes of the nature of a sacred summons from on high; and let us devote ourselves heart and soul to the supremely felicitous task of purging Islam of all obnoxious elements of error, of restoring it to its pristine purity, of promoting through its spiritual agency the great mission of the Arabian Prophet, for the success of which millions upon millions of earnest and devout Musalmans have in all countries and in all ages laid down their lives."

In his third address, delivered in March 1904, on "Sir Syed Ahmad Khan as a political Leader," he described how after the destruction of Islam as a political power in India, Sir Syed taught the Muslims to accept the new reality to modify their traditional modes of thought and action and to accommodate themselves to the altered conditions of life. After referring to Sir Syed's well-known book "The Causes of the Indian Revolt," and his famous speech in the Supreme Legislative Council, Mian Shah Din pointed out that it was thus clear that "Syed Ahmad Khan regarded the Muslim community in India as a political entity distinct from the other Indian communities, with political traditions of a distinctive type, and with a genius and destiny of its own which would ever distinguish it, as in the past, in the march of India's progress. Its separate existence as a strong, virile and self-reliant nation was, according to him, as essential to the well-being of India as the evolution on healthy lines of the Indian peoples was to the progress of the human race... Moreover "its complete absorption in the Hindu majority was neither feasible nor desirable." According to him Hindus and Muhammadans were not convertible terms. "With a knowledge of all this and with these convictions, Syed Ahmad Khan came boldly forward and stepped between the Muhammadans and the Congress." "He was an Indian Musalman first and an Indian afterwards." In the end, Mian Shah Din pleaded for a continuation of Sir Syed's political creed by Muslims. "We have our own special needs to meet and our own difficulties to surmount." "Remember also that in evolving your political creed or in determining your course of political action, you have to deal

not only with ancient traditions of a peculiar type but also with facts and forces and considerations which are without parallel in any other civilised country, and that it would be destructive of all progress if you were to form hasty views or to take precipitate action on the basis of certain theoretical principles which may read well on paper, but which may be ill-suited to our intellectual and social environment."

Educational Work in the Punjab (1893—1918)

Besides taking part in the Aligarh movement, Mian Shah Din took an active interest in the Punjab educational institutions. His connection with and work in the Punjab University lasted for a quarter of a century, from 1893 until 1918, the year of his death. Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick nominated him a Fellow of the Punjab University in 1893, and in 1895 he was elected a Syndic, a position which he held for a very long period. In 1895 he was also nominated as a member of the Punjab Public Library Managing Committee. He was for several years Secretary of the Law College Committee, which controlled the affairs of the Law College, the sole institution for teaching Law in the Province. He also acted for several years as Secretary of the Standing Committee for the preparation of approved vernacular books, which had been constituted by the Senate with the object of encouraging vernacular literature by means of translations from English and by the production of original works in the vernacular. From the record of its proceedings we find that the Committee appreciated and offered help to Urdu authors like Mirza Ijaz Husain and Mr. Inayat Ullah, who translated some useful books in Urdu, and Syed Ahmad the well-known author of *Farhang-i-Asifia*, who was assured that his request for financial help would be favourably considered when practicable.

Mian Sahib also represented the Punjab University on the Punjab Text Book Committee for a number of years, and took an active part in the Departmental Educational Conference in the Punjab.

The close and sustained interest which Mian Shah Din took in the affairs of the University is apparent from the fact that we find his name frequently mentioned in the proceedings of various Faculties as Dean or Chairman even during the last few years of his life, when he was in failing health. For example on 12th October, 1914, we see him acting as Chairman of the Board of Studies in Arabic with Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal as Convener of the Board; and about 3 months before his death we find him present at a Syndicate meeting held on 23rd March, 1918.

Besides working in the University, he showed his interest in and offered his advice on educational matters in other spheres. In reply to a query from Government in 1903 regarding the reform of the Senates and Syndicates in connection with the forthcoming Indian Universities Act (1904), he sent in useful suggestions, particularly stressing the importance of the representation of different interests and communities in the Syndicates.

In the Punjab General Educational Conference held in April 1903, when the proposal as to whether Punjabi should be made the medium of instruction up to the upper primary standard came up before the House, he opened the discussion and pointed out that since Punjabi was as yet in a primitive stage, with no prose literature of any merit, it was not fit to be employed as the medium of instruction. His view prevailed and the Conference rejected the said proposal. He gave an effective reply on the same lines to a similar proposal from Mr. Douie (who later officiated as Lieutenant-Governor) about making Punjabi a subject for High Proficiency Examination. He referred appreciatively to some fine poetry in Punjabi, but expressed the opinion that its prose literature had not yet reached a high level.

Mian Shah Din's interest in education led him to examine critically the activities of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore. Accordingly, in this connection he wrote a valuable article on the (19th) "Anjuman Anniversary" in *The Observer* of 16th April, 1904, which created unusual stir and excitement and started a long and fruitful controversy

about the reform and democratization of the Anjuman, culminating in course of time in the formation of a General Council, competent enough to watch and guide its various activities.

In the article in question (from which we shall here glean some useful extracts as they throw light on some of the general problems which face our nation even to-day), he described how he had always taken interest in the affairs of the Anjuman, how he had praised it when he was a student in England, how he had criticized it for "grave defects" in the paper he read at Aligarh in 1893 on "The Education of the Musalmans in the Punjab," and how he now found ample reason to be confirmed in the views he had expressed on that occasion. The High School and the College Department were indeed better managed of recent years, but still the promoters of the Anjuman were showing "a grievous lack of insight into the educational needs of the day, and a lamentable capacity for adjusting the educational apparatus in their hands to the true intellectual ideals of a progressive country." It was high time that these shortcomings were pointed out, and no occasion should be more appropriate than the present one when they had celebrated the nineteenth anniversary of the Anjuman with comparative success. "To the average Musalman such occasions, attended as they are by much that appeals to popular feeling and satisfies the plebeian taste, constitute advance stages in the march of national progress and the results achieved in the shape of a few sonorous sermons, eloquent speeches and stirring poems (on all kinds of subjects except education) fulfil his highest expectations. His pleasure-seeking propensities are fully gratified, he goes home very well pleased with the magnificent "tamasha" (national "tamasha" if you will have it), which he had seen, completely forgets the following day the substance of what was spoken to him, recollecting but a vague recollection of its form, and looks forward with hope to the day when he would be able to spend another 3 or 4 days in the following year in similar excitement.

The cultured Musalman, however, who has learned to think for himself, who sees a little below the surface, cannot congratulate himself and the community on the injudicious waste of time and money, though associated with the anniversary of a most useful Anjuman, when he finds that the fundamental objects of the anniversary are wholly ignored amidst the annually growing mass of its frivolous accessories, and that the educative value of the function is completely subordinated to ceremonial observations such as are calculated to amuse the gaping thoughtless." Surely on such occasions Musalmans of light and learning should be invited "to discuss the momentous and difficult problems of Muhammadan education." "Some of the lectures were indeed well-written and most useful in their own way," "and some of the poems were beautiful specimens of poetic power." "But these lectures and poems and sermons, though invaluable for other purposes, only serve to divert our attention from the proper objects of an anniversary, and tend directly to strengthen our lamentable partiality for beautiful platitudes and to confirm the baneful Eastern habit (unfortunately but too deep-rooted in the Muslim mind) of being pleased with the distorted and rainbow images of things in general, as seen through the prism of imagination. A community which has yet to make headway in educational enterprise and has to labour hard in these days of keen competition to regain some of the lost ground, cannot afford to ignore the practical and unattractive side of our requirements."

He then made "a few suggestions mainly for the purpose of inviting a public discussion" and not as expressing his "final views". He proposed that the scope of the anniversary should be enlarged, the proceedings should have direct relation to education, sectional meetings should be held on special subjects, the Islamia College and Islamia Schools should be placed under a Board of Trustees, a permanent fund should be started, the salaries of the Staff should be increased, the quality of the college education should be improved, suitable buildings should be put up for the

college, and last but not least the Anjuman should no longer be a closed corporation.

As has been observed above, this critical appraisal by Mian Shah Din caused quite an upheaval in the community. For about a year there appeared several articles in a large section of the Press for and against the proposals.* The reverberations of his protest call were heard for long afterwards. All this ultimately resulted in a somewhat better oraganisation of the Anjuman, and what is even more important, it drew the attention of a negligent but sentimental people to the strong and weak points in their nature and to the urgent educational and other requirements of an advancing world.

Legislative and Political Work (1903—8)

Law is said to be a jealous mistress ; a lawyer is supposed to concentrate in the main on his legal work, and yet the lawyers in this country form a great proportion of those who have come forward to take part in politics and in other spheres of public life.

While Mian Shah Din was conducting a big and important case at Multan for the Bahawalpur State in the summer of 1903, he was appointed for 2 years (an "Honourable") member of the Legislative Council, Punjab, then a small nominated body, consisting of about 9 members, the majority of whom were British. Mian Shah Din's nomination was hailed by the Indian Press as "a very encouraging departure", as he was the first Muslim chosen for his marked ability rather than for his aristocratic background. He was reappointed in 1905 and again in 1907, soon after which he was elevated to the Bench.

In the Legislative Council he made his maiden speech on 19th November, 1904, on the Punjab Loans Limitation

* Mian Abdul Aziz (Falak Paima) was among those who did not agree with Mian Sahib at the time, but 28 years later writing about him in *The Humayun* (January 1932), Falak Paima acknowledged that Mian Shah Din's criticism of the Anjuman's popular activities was quite correct.

Bill; in it he disagreed with the proposal to extend the limitation from three to six years, as the change would have damaged the interests of the poor agriculturists. He also took a prominent part in the discussion of several other bills, including the Punjab Pre-emption Bill, Punjab Tenancy Act Amendment Bill (1905), Punjab Alienation of Land Act Amendment Bill (1906) etc. In all these discussions he espoused the cause of the poor and particularly of the Muslim peasants.

Mian Shah Din took a leading part in the political organisation of the Muslim community. As we have seen, he participated actively in the discussions relating to Sir Syed's first proposed political organisation in 1893 ; but the time not being ripe for it, the organisation did not achieve any prominence. Some time after the great leader's death, however, things assumed a different aspect particularly after Sir Anthony Macdonell, the U.P. Governor, took up the cause of Hindi as against Urdu (1900). On this there was some political agitation among the Muslims, but when the U.P. Governor brought pressure to bear on Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Aligarh College authorities thought it expedient not to press the matter further. Political efforts on a small scale were renewed once more by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk (1901-3), and later on by Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan and Mr. Morrison, the new Aligarh Principal, but they all came to nothing. In 1903, the latter two gentlemen circulated a "draft programme of a new political party," which ostensibly was not to be a communal one, nor anti-Government, but would simply "establish an annual gathering for political discussion" with the object of the administrative, educational and industrial advancement of India.

In reply to a letter from Mr. Morrison Mian Shah Din wrote to him on 9th May, 1903 that he did not look with favour on the details of the proposals. The feeling in Lahore, which he shared, was that the Aligarh leaders had not conducted nor had brought to a close in a befitting manner the Urdu agitation against the Government, that henceforth the official direction of Muslim educational

affairs could not be profitably combined with their political programme, that a Muslim political organisation, when it came into existence, should not have its centre at Aligarh, and that it would, on the whole, be better to pay more attention to our own communal needs for the present, and to leave the larger questions for discussion at a time when the Muslims grew stronger in political sentiment and power.

In 1906, when Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk organised an All-India Muhammadan Deputation, with His Highness the Agha Khan as its head, to represent and advocate the claims of the Muslim community regarding their adequate representation in the Legislature and Public Services, Mian Shah Din was one of its prominent members. In this connection he took an active part in the Muslim leaders' consultations and discussions about the Indian political situation and the steps to be taken by the Muslims to secure their proper place in Indian polity. The deputation waited on Lord Minto at Simla on 1st October, 1906, and the recognition of Muslim claims in the Minto-Morley Reform Scheme was the direct result of its labours. It may also be noted that the first fruit of this political effort was the recognition of Muslim legal talent in the appointment of Mian Shah Din as a Judge of the Punjab Chief Court. At the time of his appointment, he was the only Muslim Judge in the High Courts or the Chief Courts in India.

The idea of starting an All-India Muslim League grew up during the various meetings which took place on this occasion, and its final Constitution was debated and adopted at a meeting held in March 1908, at Aligarh under the presidency of Mian Shah Din.*

The Punjab Branch of the All-India Muslim League had been organised earlier, and Mian Shah Din was elected as its first President (on 30th November, 1907), which position he held until his appointment as Judge of the Punjab Chief Court in October 1908. In his presidential address (in Urdu) inaugurating the first session of the Punjab Muslim League at Lahore on 30th November, 1907, Mian Shah

* See *Eminent Musalmans* (page 380).

Din stressed the necessity of opening a branch of the All-India Muslim League in the Punjab. He pointed out how owing to the impact of the West the whole of India was awakening to a new life and how each community here was becoming aware of its own particular rights and capabilities. Nationalist sentiment was spreading from the West to the East with extraordinary rapidity. Giving a historical survey, he observed that there was a time when a magical cloud arose out of the arid deserts of Arabia, and extending and stretching far and wide over a large part of the globe, enlivened and aroused the dormant people of the West. Then with the passage of time, as ill-luck would have it, the East went to sleep and was lost in luxury and lethargy. And now a third period had begun when the West in its turn had come over to inspire and infuse a new life into the East, and the East was responding and showing signs of fresh animation and activity. Continuing his address he went on to say that under such circumstances the Muslims of India had to ponder over the situation and see what they could do. Let them avail themselves of the British connection, learn the Western arts and sciences, emulate the example of their Hindu brethren, imbibe the spirit of self-help and try once more to capture their lost strength and glory. Thus far they had attended to education. Now they had to fight for their political rights. They had to realize that the Muslim political objectives were different from those of the other communities, and hence their line of action too had to be a different one. They had to build on their own separate foundations and to adopt and apply their own constructive methods. The general conditions obtaining in India were quite different from those prevailing in Europe, and the Muslims must, therefore, unlike some other groups, work with circumspection, moderation and restraint. Finally after pointing out that there was no active Muslim political organisation in the Punjab, Mian Shah Din outlined the objects of the new League. These, he said, consisted in safeguarding the political rights of the Punjab Muslims, co-operating with the Central Muslim

League and its branches for the unity and progress of Indian Muslims, and maintaining friendly relations with all the non-Muslim communities of India, without, however, losing touch with the British Government.*

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, writing to Mian Shah Din on 5th December, 1907, congratulated him on the foundation of the Punjab Muslim League and applauded his efforts in putting up a bold front against all antagonism. Mian Azim Husain in the biography of his father *Fazl-i-Husain*, after describing how two rival Muslim Leagues were formed in the Punjab, and how Mian Fazl-i-Husain agreed to the dissolution of his organization in December 1907, and joined the Punjab Muslim League of which Mian Shah Din was the first President and Mian Muhammad Shafi the first Secretary, writes: "Most of the work in connection with Muslim demands, was the result of the effort of Mian Muhammad Shafi and Mian Shah Din."†

An interesting incident occurred during the early days of the organization of the Muslim League. It was probably in March 1908, during the course of the special League Session held at Aligarh, under the Presidentship of Mian Shah Din, that the Aligarh students organized, with special permission from Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, a University debate on the subject of the Muslim League. An eye-witness, then a student of the M.A.O. College, has given us the following description of the debate.‡ The motion before the House was to the effect that the Muslim League as an active national organization was totally ineffective. Mulla Ahmad of Bombay opened the debate to which Mian Muhammad Shafi of Lahore replied eloquently. In the end after several speakers had expressed their views for and against the motion, Syed Husain, a talented student (who later on became the editor of the Congress Paper "The Independent") rose and by dint of his declamatory powers

* See *The Daily Paisa Akhbar*, Lahore, dated December 3, 1907.

† *Fazl-i-Husain*, page 98 (Longmans 1946).

‡ Muhammad Zafar, M.A., in *The Daily Paisa Akhbar*, dated 16th July 1918.

smashed the arguments of the elderly leaders so thoroughly that the Muslim League's case seemed utterly lost for the time being; and what was more serious, no one there appeared to be capable of standing up against the youthful prodigy. The Muslim League Constitution was then in the making, and it seemed that the League was yet too young and immature to withstand vehement aggressive attacks. There was an ominous silence for a few moments, when everybody looked around. Then a slender man of short stature quietly stood up to defend the cause of the new organization. It was Mian Shah Din. Almost everybody had heard of him, but the greater part of the audience had not had personal experience of his oratorical powers and mature judgement. There was perfect silence in the Hall, so that even the sound of breath seemed audible. Mian Shah Din coolly and systematically analysed Syed Husain's speech and then dissected it so adroitly and yet so honestly that his rejoinder carried conviction to all and turned the tables completely in favour of the Muslim League. His voice was soft and calm, his manner composed, there was no anger in his tone—there was but a gentle fatherly admonition. Simple words, short flowing sentences, all relevant to the point. The political situation in India was realistically and faithfully depicted and the Muslim League position was demonstrated to be the only honourable and feasible way out for the Muslim community. In conclusion, the speaker, with good grace, praised the young man and prophesied a bright future for him. But meanwhile he had carefully demolished all his arguments one by one, and had won over the young along with the old and brought them all back into the Muslim League's fold.

Public and Judicial Career (1906—18)

Soon after Mian Shah Din's return to India he had won a name in the Punjab as the rising man in the Punjab Chief Court and was counted till his elevation to the Bench among leaders of the Chief Court Bar.* He held for some time the

* See *The Tribune*, dated December 9, 1906.

office of Assistant Legal Remembrancer of the Punjab Government, a position to which no other Indian had been appointed in the Province before him.

As we have seen, when he was appointed a Judge of the Chief Court Punjab on 8th December, 1906, he was the only Muslim Judge of a Chief Court or a High Court in the whole of India.*

His community was naturally pleased at his elevation, and the rare combination of exceptional qualities in him was acknowledged when a speaker said in a public meeting that they could not afford to lose Mian Muhammad Shah Din in Mr. Justice Shah Din, and that they would now demand more of his time and energy for the promotion of works of communal good.†

On 12th August 1907, he reverted to the Bar, and for some time rendered most valuabe services to his community by giving it a lead in the educational and political spheres.

On 28th December 1907, at the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference at Karachi, after Mr. Giles, the Director-General of Education in India, had indulged in some scathing criticism of Muslim backwardness in education, Mian Shah Din, finding that all the Muslim leaders present there felt forlorn and depressed, rose to the occasion and made a remarkable extempore speech, in which while acknowledging some of the drawbacks of his own community, and advising them that they should not rely on Government favours alone, he pointed out politely but firmly where Government had failed to do its duty in not following a more wise and broad-minded policy in the matter, and stressed the fact the Muslims were "certainly entitled to look up to Government for active sympathy and encouragement." The speech left a deep and abiding impression, both on the public and the Government, of the speaker's marked ability and of his firmness and outspokenness.

Next year Mian Shah Din wrote an article on "Relations between Indians and Anglo-Indians," which was published

* *The Watan*, Lahore, dated 14th December 1906.

† *The Observer*, Lahore, dated 19th December 1906.

by several newspapers.* In it he pleaded for the bridging of the "Social gulf between the two communities, which had become wider than ever." He sincerely believed that the view that the West and the East shall never meet "was a cramped view of the great potentialities of human progress towards common ideals." He further wrote: "The East must nerve itself to a supreme effort of will to find out the way, and by casting off the wearisome load of its dead excrescences must raise itself to a higher plane of existence. The West must come down a little from its high pedestal of political superiority, and by learning to appreciate the good points which exist in the self-contained social organization of the meditative East, must bring itself to accept them as serviceable institutions in practical life." For thus alone could "the Europeans and Indians become true helpmates and fellow-workers in the field of human advancement". And he concluded by saying that the "future will depend much upon the extent to which the interests and privileges of the West can ostensibly blend with the hopes and ambitions of the East."

Mian Shah Din, though he was a moderate and not an extremist in politics and though he often called upon his countrymen to learn much from Western civilization, nevertheless hated to indulge in flattery of the Europeans, and always maintained a dignified attitude towards them. For this many responsible individuals among them respected him, but as a ruling class they never really liked him.†

The Hindu Liberals appreciated his political candour and his refusal to bow down before the British rulers. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, the Editor of *The Hindustan Times*, who often made appreciative references to the sterling qualities of Mian Shah Din, after writing to him in a letter dated 8th December 1908 that Mr. Hasan Imam and others had joined the Bihar Congress, pointedly said: "So

* It was reproduced by *The Hindustan Review*, Allahabad in February, 1908.

† Mian Abdul Aziz (Falak Paima) has pointed this out in his article "The Times of Mian Shah Din" in *The Humayun*. January, 1932.

things are moving fast, and I yet look forward to the day when I shall write out a sketch of Mr. Shah Din as the President-elect of the Congress. What say you to it?" Commenting later on his address at the Muhammadan Educational Conference in 1913, Mr. Sinha said: "Few living Indians in my opinion have deserved so well of the country as you. You have done far more in many useful directions than most political demagogues." And from Culcutta Mr. Jogendra Chandra Bose wrote about the same address on 13th March 1914: "I find in its lines a marked trace of that calm wisdom which to my mind has always distinguished you"..."Your peroration is grand"..."Your address shows that you are an optimist."*

Unfortunately, even the majority of the Hindu Liberals could not ultimately stand up to the rabid communalism of a large section of Hindu leaders, who wrecked all chances of a genuine rapprochment with the level-headed, freedom-loving leaders among the Musalmans. The inevitable result of this was the foundation and consolidation of the Muslim League by farseeing liberal-minded men like Mian Shah Din and others, who clearly perceived the duty which they owed to their own oppressed community.

From the point of view of a united India the story is a long and interesting but not a very happy one of how for 40 years the efforts of a number of Indian Muslim leaders to find an honourable place for their community within the Indian polity were defeated one after the other, how at first moderate men like Mian Shah Din and others were forced to start and consolidate the Muslim League as a separate Muslim political organization, and how at last even radicals like Mr. Jinnah were obliged to break away altogether and lay the foundation of a separate Muslim state. It might be said that perhaps it was natural for the majority community to assert itself and dominate the scene. It might be "natural," but certainly it was neither wise nor expedient. They forgot that Sir Syed's work had greatly changed the

* The comments of the Madras *Educational Review* have already been noticed.

situation and that he had left behind him a more wakeful community. The Muslims had begun to put their house in order, though it was only a beginning.

It is noteworthy that Mian Shah Din and other moderate Muslim leaders, in spite of the unsatisfactory communal situation, maintained a dignified attitude of tolerance and good-will towards the sister community. For instance, at the end of his lecture on "Islam in Africa" (1892), Mian Shah Din welcomed the present age of Reason in which Muslims, Christians, Hindus, and others could work together in perfect harmony for the moral and social elevation of the world. And he concluded by quoting a popular verse usually ascribed to Hafiz *—

حافظا گر وصل خواهی صلح کن با خاص و عام
با مسلمان الله الله با برهمن رام رام

Similarly at the end of his Presidential address at the 27th session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference in December 1913, he referred to the Hindu community in a cordial manner thus :—"We have the inestimable advantage of being in intimate touch, in all the chief concerns of individual and corporate life, with a most intellectual and resourceful people in the East, who have behind them a proud record of a marvellous world civilization and whose future is full of great possibilities and bright hopes. For a Muslim race to have been thrown into contact with such a people is a most momentous event in history, and I cannot believe that this is a mere fortuitous concourse of two Eastern communities and creeds having no definite relation to the future well-being of humanity."

In a rejoinder connected with the discussion on his last paper "History in its relation to Sociology" (in 1915), when a large section of the Hindu Press and some Hindu scholars took exception to his not having mentioned Hinduism in his speech, Mian Sahib calmly drew their attention to the fact

* "O Hafiz ! if you long for union with the Beloved then make peace with one and all : Say Allah Allah with the Muslim and Ram Ram with the Brahman."

that his thesis did not include a study of comparative religion. Yet he had no hesitation in appreciating Hinduism for "the many great virtues which it possessed as a social system representing a notable phase of organic evolution in the past," and in acknowledging that "as a spiritual force Hinduism had not spent itself and that on all sides in this country we could see signs of a Hindu revival that might startle the world." A few years before this, in 1911, Mian Shah Din had invited the attention of local Hindu and Muslim leaders to the urgent need for action to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity and co-operation.*

Mian Shah Din was reappointed as a temporary additional Judge of the Punjab Chief Court on 6th October 1908. His appointment while encouraging the Muslims, unfortunately sent a section of the Hindu Press into unnecessary hysterics as Mr. Lal Chand was also an aspirant for that office. It is noteworthy that on his first appointment as a temporary judge *The Tribune* (9th December 1906) had written as follows :—"Mr. Shah Din's appointment we are prepared to accept as having been made purely on its merits, and quite apart from any sectional agitation. He has been for some time one of the leaders of the Lahore Bar." And in 1917 the same paper *(The Tribune,* dated 25th February 1917) wrote as follows on his temporary appointment as Chief Justice :— "By his education, learning and scholarship, Mr. Shah Din is eminently fitted for the chair vacated by Sir Donald Johnston." And yet in 1908 when he was appointed in preference to Mr. Lal Chand, the "Punjabee" led the violent attack launched by the Hindu Press and wrote venomously :—"It is the burning topic of the day...It has been a political appointment, pure and simple...This is a wrong principle...Here indeed is communalism pure and simple."

Along with such comments, it is amusing to see the Indian Nationalist Press shed crocodile tears over the lack of Indian nationalist sentiment among the communally-minded Musalmans ! All this clearly shows that from the point of view

* See *The Observer*, Lahore, dated 18th April 1913.

of Indian unity, the "Nationalists" played a very unwise role indeed and their bigoted actions belied their high-sounding professions.

After this Mian Shah Din continued as a Judge of the Punjab Chief Court for about 10 years, right up to the time of his death in July 1918. Even now however he had from time to time to contend with opposing forces. This he did with courage and determination, and reaped the well-earned fruits of success.

In 1913, Mian Shah Din had again to take a stand on his rights—this time against an Englishman. In a memorial addressed to the Governor-General of India in Council, Mian Shah Din pointed out the glaring injustice of appointing Mr. Chevis, who was his junior, to the permanent vacancy in the Chief Court. The Government of India, seeing the force of his arguments and realizing their own mistake, withdrew their communique, and appointed Mian Shah Din as a permanent Judge (June 1913). About four years later when the post of the Officiating Chief Justice fell vacant and the Government seemed reluctant to appoint an Indian to it there was a demand by all sections of the public and press that Mian Shah Din who was next in order of seniority, should be called upon to fill that high post. This he did with great distinction from 23rd February 1917 to 5th August 1917.

That the British rulers did not really feel very happy at the appointment of an Indian to the high office of a Chief Justice becomes clear from a letter of congratulation dated 8th January 1917 written by the Lt.-Governor Sir Michael O'Dwyer to Mian Sahib wherein he wrote :—"The appointment is on the understanding as expressed to me verbally by you that it gives no claim to the permanent post if Mr. Rattigan does not return." Mr. Rattigan did return and became the permanent Chief Justice, but the "permanency" was destined to be rather transient, and events moved so rapidly that after the unexpected death of Mian Shah Din and later of Sir Henry Rattigan, the British Imperialists, after an unseemly and unnecessarily violent

show of martial law and repression, had to appoint another Indian to be the permanent Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court.

On the appointment of Mian Shah Din, *The Tribune* wrote on 20th February, 1917 :—

"The Honorable Mr. Justice Shah Din's appointment as Chief Justice of the Chief Court Punjab is thrice blessed. To Mr. Shah Din himself it means the recognition of the claims of merit, distinguished service and seniority. To Mr. Shah Din's countrymen in the Punjab it means the recognition of a principle that the claims of an Indian to a high office for which he is duly qualified by his position, attainments and capacity are not to be ignored merely because he is an Indian. And to the Government itself it means an act which is hailed with a chorus of approval and satisfaction. Surely here is a happy combination. . . . Numerous meetings have been held throughout the Province. One tone prevailed throughout, a sense of pride that for the first time in the annals of the highest court of this Province, a Punjabee had been called to the high office of Chief Judge." And on March 28, 1917 the same paper wrote :—"During the last week the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Shah Din, Chief Justice, has given a series of pleasant and enjoyable afternoon parties to his numerous friends in Lahore." In the last of the three parties,"on Sunday, he set an excellent example by inviting the members of the Chief Court office establishment and making them feel thoroughly at home by his courtesy and kindness."

An incident that occurred behind the scenes during this period deserves special mention, as it shows how Mian Shah Din held on to his righteous principles, ready to stake his all in times of crises. The post of a Sessions Judge in the Punjab having fallen vacant, a controversy arose as to whether Khawja Tasadduq Husain* or Lala Damodar Das of Delhi should be appointed to it. Four years before this (in October 1913) the previous Chief Justice Sir Arthur Reid had placed the Lala below the

* A nephew of the famous poet Hali.

Khawja, who he said had "done very good judicial work". But now a judge of the Punjab Chief Court, who happened to belong to the Lala's community, succeeded by some clever and ingenious means in enlisting the support of all the other judges for the junior aspirant. However, Mian Shah Din, the Chief Justice, considered Khawja Tasadduq Husain to be the more deserving of the two and accordingly he wrote a strong well-reasoned note in favour of Khawja Tasadduq Husain (dated 7th May, 1917). "In making appointments to the listed posts on the judicial side," he said, "the principle which seems to have been acted on in the past is that if the seniormost officer among extra judicial Assistant Commissioners is fit for a listed post he should ordinarily be appointed to it." Then assessing the comparative qualifications of the two candidates, he continued, "Neither is particularly brilliant but both are very well educated and in point of judicial ability and experience both are certainly above the average. Khawja Tasadduq Husain is a quiet, unostentatious worker, but Lala Damodar Das is more pushful, and in conversation impresses one as being astute and dexterous. Both exhibit industry and intelligence and in addition to the requisite knowledge of law and procedure they both possess sufficient authority of common sense." Then after referring to Sir Arthur Reid's opinion he concluded that under the circumstances it was neither necessary nor desirable in the interest of the public services to promote Lala Damodar Das over the head of Khawja Tasadduq Husa'n." The case went up eventually for final decision to the Lieutenant-Governor Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Mian Shah Din when called by the Head of the Province, stood steadfastly for what he considered to be the right cause and made it plain that as Chief Justice he would stand or fall by his recommendation and would not hesitate to resign, should the final decision of the Lieutenant-Governor go against him.* The Lieutenant-Governor there-

* Mian Shah Din told the writer before the interview actually took place that he had made up his mind to act in this manner.

upon signified his agreement with the Chief Justice.

It is worthy of note that these war years covered a period of very strict and harsh British bureaucratic rule in the Punjab and that O'Dwyer who declared he would "stand no damned nonsense" in the way of political agitation, kept provoking the people in a manner which ultimately had dire consequences for both the rulers and the ruled.

It may here be mentioned that one day less than a week before Mian Shah Din's death (2nd July 1918), when he was lying in a precarious condition at Dharampur, he asked his son (the present writer) to read out the daily paper to him. There was an interesting topical news item describing how in the Imperial Legislature at Simla Mr. Jinnah had severely criticised Sir Michael O'Dwyer to his face for his high-handed autocratic behaviour and oppression of the people. On hearing this Mian Shah Din, as he lay exhausted in his bed, was visibly moved, his eyes shone forth and with a faint smile he remarked that he was glad to find that someone at last had the courage to face and take a stand against the overbearing attitude of an arrogant ruler.

Along with his judicial activities, Mian Shah Din also continued to take a keen interest in some other spheres of public life. In November 1913 he submitted a memorandum to the Public Services Commission on the Educational Services in India. The pay and prospects of the Services, he commented, should be improved, the racial distinction should cease, the idea that a teacher or inspector with European qualifications was necessarily superior to others had better be abandoned, and lastly it was essential to pay more attention to the employment of Muslims, for that was one of the effective ways of encouraging the spread of education in that community.

In 1916, as a Judge of the Chief Court, when asked by the Government of India to give his opinion on their proposal to make the Arms Act more stringent, he strongly deprecated the move and supported the Indian nationalists' demand to

قطرۂ خوں ہو کر شاید لعل ہی بن جائے دل
ضبطِ غم کا اے ہمایوں یہ صلہ پائے کوئی

M. Shah Din

12th Septr 1913

Kashmir: River Jhelum

liberalize and relax the law.

Again in April 1917 when the Punjab Government wished to impose a Punjab Village Penalties Act on the Province by extending certain pernicious sections of the Frontier Crimes Regulations here, Mian Shah Din as Chief Justice warned the Government that enlightened public opinion in the Province, with which his own view coincided, regarded the proposed bill as a "retrogressive measure," that it was "a very crude way of dealing with human criminality," that it would "place too much power in the hands of the executive authorities, whose powers were already extensive enough," and that therefore it was "wholly unnecessary and as inadvisable as it was unjust to a loyal and progressive people"

Mian Shah Din's philosophic outlook on life, his analytical powers and his breadth of vision can be fully discerned in the brilliant address*—his last public address extant—which he delivered at the annual meeting of the Punjab University Historical Society on "History in its relation to Sociology" on January 30, 1915. In it he propounded the theory that the real function of history was to trace and describe the different steps in the evolutionary process by which humanity was ever striving to realise its true destiny, and that history was concerned not merely with external events but also with their inner workings and meanings and relationships which alone could furnish the real key to the solution of the great human problem. As illustrations of this principle he took up the example of the three great historical religions of the world, associated with the names of three great moral teachers, Buddha, Christ and Muhammad. The life-story of each "is a noble record of strenuous endeavour to solve the riddle of life and to bring about the moral regeneration and spiritual uplift of mankind." We are exhorted "to study the central figure in its totality and in relation to its setting" in order to know the whole truth about it. Among other things, Mian Sahib draws our

* A Hindu critic writing to him (on 26th February 1915) from Calcutta refers to it as "Your masterly address read before the Historical Society."

attention to "the rapidity with which its (Islam's) central idea of the One God sank into the human soul, the remarkable strength of the bond of union created through it between dissimilar races and distant lands, and the success with which the need for a spiritual training of man as a social being has been presented by it and acknowledged in practical life."

On the Chief Court Bench Mian Shah Din worked very hard and earnestly, as indeed he did in everything that he took up. The Chief Court Judges had during this period to cope with heavy work. As the author of the Government publication "A History of the Development of the Judiciary in the Punjab" (1884-1926) says :—"For 15 years since 1904, the Chief Court struggled with the assistance of temporary judges against the ever-rising tide of work". "The excellent manner in which the Chief Court steered itself bears testimony to its untiring industry, its great ability and its lofty sense of duty". "The elevation of the Chief Court to the status of a High Court was mooted as long ago as 1886. In 1900 a definite proposal to this effect was set up, but pecuniary considerations stood in the way. The proposal was revived in 1913, and was accepted by the Secretary of State in 1916 after much correspondence. Once more it was the Great War which delayed the implementation till 1st April, 1919." About Mian Shah Din and some other judges the aforesaid book says : "Their judicial acumen, their vast knowledge of law and procedure and their great learning are writ large on the pages of the *Punjab Record*."* "The excellent manner in which they acquitted themselves and the memorable services that they rendered to the country and to the administration of justice have made an abiding impression of the ability of Indians on both the Government and the public."

The end of Mian Shah Din's life and career was sudden and unexpected, and it came therefore as a great shock both to his relatives and friends and to the general public. Con-

* A summary of one of the well-known judgments of Mr. Justice Shah Din is included in Part II of this volume.

sidering that his health was never robust, he took his work far too seriously and this continually undermined his delicate physique. His friends and relatives had from time to time shown their concern about his health, yet except for the last few months of his life, few people in the family or outside suspected that the end was so near. His refusal to give up his work even temporarily did not allow the real state of his ill-health to be known or felt seriously.* And yet the fact remains that physically he suffered a great deal during the last three years of his life——suffered quietly and manfully.

Less than a month before his death (on 2nd July 1918), he was still working in the Chief Court; his last judgment there is dated 4th June, 1918. So delicate had his health become during the last few weeks of his life that he used to be carried down in a chair from the upper storey of his house when going to court. At last when it was too late, he took leave and went to Dharampur for treatment, but it was of no avail. His health deteriorated rapidly and he was brought back to Lahore on 1st July where he died the next day at sunset. He was only 50 years and a few months old when he left the scene of his earthly labours. He was buried in the Mian Family graveyard at Baghbanpura (Lahore).

He had known for some time past that he was in failing health. And though he made great efforts through very strict diet and treatment to fight against his disease, he hated the idea of a prolonged illness which would force him to give up all work and activity, and become a source of trouble to his relatives and friends. A mind like his did not want to hang on to life just for life's sake. Can we say that Nature is sometimes kind to such great men in cutting short their lives abruptly and taking them away on a tragic wave of glory? But what a loss it means to many others and to humanity at large!

* He was operated upon for fistula in September 1915. Sir Ali Imam wrote to him on 3rd June, 1915: "Your health is a source of anxiety to your friends." Sir Abdur Rahim writing on 1st May, 1916, was sorry to learn that he had had to undergo an operation.

It is most significant that during the night that followed his passing away (while the body of the departed soul was still lying in the house), the writer on opening *Diwan-i-Hafiz* by way of augury found the following *ghazal* :—

روز هجران و شب فرقت یار آخر شد
زدم این فال و گزشت اختر و کار آخر شد
آن همه ناز و تنعم که خزان می فرمود
عاقبت در قدم باد بهار آخر شد
بعد ازیں نور به آفاق دهیم از دل خویش
که به خورشید رسیدیم و غبار آخر شد
آن پریشانئی شب هائے دراز و غم دل
همه در سایۂ گیسوئے نگار آخر شد
در شمار ارچه نیاورد کسے حافظ را
شکر کاں محنت بے حد و شمار آخر شد

"The days and nights of separation from the Beloved are ended,
I cast this omen——the star has set and the work is ended.
All that toying and coquetry that autumn displayed,
At last at the foot of the spring-breeze has ended.
Out of our hearts, henceforth we shall pour light to the world,
For we have reached the sun and the dust has finally ended.
The trouble and travail of long nights and the heart's grief
All these in the shade of the Beloved's tresses have ended.
Though no one has ever reckoned much of Hafiz,
Thank God that his labours without reckoning have ended."

Tributes on his Death

Allama Iqbal wrote the following verses on the death of Mian Shah Din, the second and third verses being chronograms giving the year of his demise* :—

در گلستان دهر همایون نکته سنج
آمد مثال شبنم و چوں بوئے گل رمید

* Our national Poet, who was a personal friend and a great admirer of Mian Shah Din, sent the writer these verses in his own handwriting, a facsimile of which is here reproduced. The first two verses, among others, are inscribed on Mian Sahib's tombstone.

قطعۂ تاریخ

در گلستانِ دہر ہمایونِ نغز سنج
آمد نظیرِ شبنم و چون بوئے گل رمید
ز جنت عندلیب خوش الحان ابد بال فوز
علامہ رفیع ز آہ جگر سوز بشنید

۳۳۴ × ۴ = ۱۳۳۶

دیگر

چو سالِ فوتِ ہمایوں دلِ حزیں می جُست — ز ہشتِ خلد ندا آمد رسید المومن

۱۶۷ × ۸ = ۱۳۳۶

محمد اقبال

می جست عندلیب خوش آهنگ سال فوت
علامۂ فصیح زهر چار سو شنید=۱۳۳۶ھ (=۱۹۱۸ء)
۳۳۴ × ۴
چو سال فوت همایوں دل حزیں می جست
زهشت خلد ندائم رسید المومن=۱۳۳۶ھ
۸ × ۱۶۷

"In the garden of the world the sagacious Humayun
Came like the dew and flitted away like the scent of the rose,
The sweet-voiced nightingale, in quest of the year of death
From all four corners heard: *"The Eloquent Savant."*
As the sorrowful heart sought the year of Humayun's death
From all the eight parts of Paradise I heard a voice: *"The Believer"*

Three and a half years later, in December 1921, the great Poet sent for the first issue of *The Humayun* magazine (published in January 1922), a poem entitled "Humayun depicting beautifully the character of Mian Shah Din. It begins with the line اے ہمایوں زندگی تیری سراپا سوز تھی This is the frontispiece of the present book, and a translation of it is given in Appendix 3. It may be added in this connection that *The Humayun* was founded by the present writer to commemorate the personality and to inculcate the moral values of his father, Mian Shah Din Humayun. It was a literary and cultural Urdu magazine, which was published regularly every month for 35 years from January 1922 to January 1957, and wherein articles relating to the life and writings of Mian Shaib occasionally appeared.

The tributes paid to Mr. Justice Shah Din on his death in the Punjab Chief Court and elsewhere showed the respect and affection in which he was held by the Bench and the Bar and the general public.

Sir Henry Rattigan, the Chief Justice, addressing the Bar said:—"It was with pained surprise and profound sorrow that we received on Tuesday night the sad news of the sudden death of our colleague Mr. Justice Shah Din.. He was of a judicious temperament and eminently suited for a

place on the Bench of the Court. He possessed a deep and intimate acquaintance with the principles of Jurisprudence, and English, Muhammadan, Hindu and Customary Law, and he had in a marked degree that ability to grasp accurately and quickly the salient features of a case the possession of which is essential for the successful performance of a judge's duties...For our successors the pages of the *Punjab Record*, which contain his masterly judgments, will be a lasting memorial of his judicial qualifications. Speaking for myself, I can say that it was always reassuring to me that Mr. Justice Shah Din agreed with me on a particular point, and that on the occasions, and I am glad to say they were rare, when we differed, I invariably entertained grave misgivings as to the correctness of my views. When Mr. Justice Shah Din first joined the Chief Court Bar in 1891, we who were then practising in Lahore early recognized that a man of his obvious abilities and knowledge of law was destined at no distant date to come to the front, and take a prominent place among his rivals, but I think we all realized, and none more quickly than myself, that his modest, retiring nature considerably handicapped him in the fierce turmoil of his forensic struggle. Quite apart from the natural gratification and pride that he felt when he was selected by the Government for Chief Court judgeship, he was not, I believe, reluctant to leave active practice at the Bar for the more congenial and quiet work of the Bench, and since the day when he first took his place among us, he acquitted himself in the performance of his duties to the entire and universal satisfaction of the public, the Government, and, I am confident I can add, the members of the Legal profession in this Province. It was only a fitting reward, therefore, when in recognition of his services, His Excellency the Viceroy, on the recommendation of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, last year appointed him to officiate for several months as Chief Judge of this Court, and to me as one of his oldest personal friends it is a source of sorrowful satisfaction that I was though indirectly the means by which this came to him. This is not the time, nor is this

the place to speak of those qualities and charms that endeared Mr. Justice Shah Din to his friends, or of his many activities in other spheres of life, but it is impossible when speaking of him to omit a reference, no matter how brief, to the great work which he did to advance the cause of education in India generally and among his own community in particular. His efforts in this noble cause were untiring and the seed which he has sown will, I doubt not, bear good fruit in due season. And finally, this Province is not likely to forget that Mr. Justice Shah Din was in the truest and best sense a son of its soil, a Punjabi and a member of the Punjab Agriculturist Tribe. As such he was devoted to the land of his birth ; and the Punjab should be proud of her son, who by the force of his character and his great natural abilities, and without any outside aid or influence, won for himself a place in the highest tribunal in the Province."*

On behalf of the Bar, Rai Bahadur Pundit Sheo Narain, a leading Advocate, said among other things :—"Socrates said : Four things belong to a judge : to hear courteously, to answer wisely, to consider soberly and to give judgment without partiality. Speaking of the late judge, I may say that he heard every case courteously, that he answered whatever answer he had to make to argument or in debating any case in court wisely, that he considered every problem that was laid before him with sobriety and with all possible deliberation, and that he gave his judgment without partiality. In addition to these four characteristics which were in full measure present in him he satisfied Bacon's requirements as well. He was learned, he was revered and esteemed, he carefully considered every case that was put before him, and his integrity was his proper virtue. The pages of the *Punjab Record* will bear testimony to his sound knowledge of law, to his erudition and to his quick grasp of facts that were laid before him. If there was anything against him, it was quibbles that he never cared for, which

* *The Tribune*, dated 6th July, 1918.

in fact he discouraged and he always took a comprehensive view of every case that was placed before him by counsel. . . No greater compliment can be given to a judge than that he satisfied all that is required to make a model judge. . . That he was a personality, an individuality, admits of no manner of doubt. His inflexible principle, his sense of duty, his sense of dignity and his sense of independence and impartiality mark him out as one of the judges who will always be a beacon light and a loadstar for all of us to follow."

Public condolence meetings were held all over the Province and elsewhere, in which people of all communities joined in mourning the terrible loss to the country. The newspapers and periodicals wrote appreciative comments and illuminating articles.

In a public meeting at Lahore held on 5th July, 1918, Raja Narindranath who presided over it said, among other things : "Amid the onerous and exacting duties of his office he found time to devote himself to literary pursuits. Even recently he presided at a symposium of poets and his (Urdu) poem that was read on the occasion was of a high order of excellence. The private life of the deceased was of a lofty character, and was based on high principles. . . He was not only a lifelong total abstainer himself but always advised others to do the same. At his parties, he never provided liquor, for he would not give unto others what he did not consider good for himself. In his demise the Government has lost a high and able officer, and the people a man of lofty principles." The speaker said that on that sad occasion he was now reminded of the Persian couplet Mr. Justice Shah Din once quoted in a lecture he delivered at the Government College :—

یاد داری که وقت زادن تو   همه خندان بدند و تو گریان
آنچنان زی که بعد مردن تو   همه گریان شوند و تو خندان

"Dost thou remember when thou wast born, all laughed and thou alone wept, so live that when thou departest, all may grieve and thou alone mayst laugh." "Such was," said

the speaker, "the case with the deceased. He had lived his life in such a way that he had nothing to grieve at in leaving this world, while all who knew him had reason to mourn his loss. He had left a son with his literary tastes and the speaker trusted he would continue them."

The Tribune (dated 4th July, 1918) wrote a long obituary note and concluded by saying: "By the death of such a versatile scholar, and many-sided worker, and a self-made man who rose to the highest office open to a Punjabee in the Province of his birth, the Land of the Five Rivers "Punjab" loses a son of whom it had reason to be proud".

The Khalsa Advocate (dated 26th July, 1918) said: "The late Mr. Justice Shah Din was a sympathiser of the Sikh cause and perhaps the only Indian Judge upon whom the Sikhs could rely for sympathetic treatment."

The Punjab Government Gazette (in a July 1918 issue) in its obituary notice wrote: "His devotion to his public duties hastened his end...Mr. Justice Shah Din possessed many of the qualities of a great judge, keenness of perception, decision, quickness of mind and a marked power of close reasoning. But it was not only as a judge that he will be remembered in the Province. His services to the cause of education entitle him to the gratitude of all who have the advancement of the country at heart...His opinion on all matters connected with education carried the greatest weight, and his addresses on educational subjects which were instinct with imagination and sane enthusiasm for true progress, were models of their kind."

Hundreds of condolence letters from individuals poured in. Some Hindu friends wrote :—"He was a man of saintly character." "I heartily sympathize with you in your having lost a father, a teacher, a guide, a statesman——nay a saint." A Sikh gentleman said: "He was dear to me as a father and I was proud of his affection for me, my grief is too deep for expression." A Lahore Muslim intellectual wrote: "He had a heart which was full of Islamic love." Another wrote from Bahawalpur: "The loss is too great to be described. Time may come and time may go, the name

of Mian Shah Din shall stand all alone in the annals of the country as a landmark for unsurpassable talents and captivating virtues. The appearance of another Shah Din will be a matter of ages. We shall miss him and very much miss him in all spheres of life where exceptional ability and unflinching character shall be in requisition."

Private and Family Life

So far we have mainly given an account of the public life of Mian Shah Din. Let us now give a brief review of his private life. In March 1892, he married the young cousin to whom we have referred earlier. Their first child, a son named Bashir Ahmad (the present writer) was born in March 1893. Later on two daughters were born——Asghari Khanum (in July 1896) and Fahmida Khanum (in July 1904). Mention has already been made of the distinguished career of Asghari, who resembled her father most both in appearance and temperament. He sent her to be educated at Queen Mary's College, Lahore, in April 1909,* and but for the entreaties of her mother, would have sent her 4 years later to England for further studies to join her brother at Oxford. The son Bashir Ahmad (like his father) was educated at Government College, Lahore, and was called to the Bar in London (1914). He studied also at Wadham College, Oxford where he secured an Honours degree in History. Mian Shah Din went to see him in England in 1912 and toured with him in England, Scotland and Wales. It was from that time onwards that they came closer together, and the son came to know his father better, came to know of his greatness (with its loneliness of spirit) and his equanimity and courage. Mian Shah Din was attached to his children, but took care that they were not spoilt or pampered.

* Asghari and Jahan Ara (daughter of Mian Muhammad Shafi, who later became Begum Shah Nawaz) were playmates and classmates for a number of years in Queen Mary's College. Mian Shah Din greatly encouraged them both in their educational and literary pursuits.



MIAN SHAH DIN AT OXFORD, 1912
with Mian Abdur-Rashid on his left, Mian Muhammad Rafi in front, and Bashir Ahmad standing behind.

In November, 1917, a few months before their father's death, Bashir and Asghari were married to Geti Ara, the younger daughter and Muhammad Rafi, the elder son of their uncle Mian Muhammad Shafi. It was a double alliance between the two households, and brought Mian Shah Din and Mian Muhammad Shafi (the "learned cousins" as they were wont to address each other in public) closer to each other.

Mian Shah Din's view of Life——his love of nature, his search for truth, his sense of humour and his critical appraisal of Muslim Society——can be seen in the letters written to his wife, a few of which written between 1899 and 1904 have luckily been preserved. In one of the letters dated 8th September, 1901, after describing the charming mountain scenery, he deplored that he should be roaming in the beautiful hills, while his wife was languishing in the Baghbanpura heat, but he added that it seemed as if Muslim women were destined to lead such a life, otherwise the oppressive custom of purdah would not be tolerated. He was extremely fond of Kashmir ; from 1899 to 1917 he visited it several times. His letters and Urdu poems give us a faithful idea of the deep impression made on his mind by the wild and beautiful scenery there. In another letter he sent his wife a love poem addressed to her, and in yet another letter he sent her a rather comical poem, supposed to have been written to Mian Muhammad Shafi by his wife. There were also some witty remarks about a self-styled "Pir" (saint) who was practising *Piri Muridi* and making a fool of the people at Baghbanpura. At Baghbanpura itself, the home of the family, groups would alternately gather now in one cousin's house and now in another and spend the evenings in intellectual or jovial or humorous talk. Mian Shah Din himself, who was rather reserved and mostly occupied with his multifarious duties, loved at times to take part in these gatherings. There he would sometimes organize debates or speeches on literary or social topics, or suggest mimcry or a farcical burlesque, particularly encouraging the young boys and girls to take part therein, or he himself

would play upon the harmonium, singing Hali or Iqbal's poems, or take part in card or other indoor games. The writer remembers how his father would ask him to write his travel diary at the age of ten or twelve and then read it out in a family reunion. Mian Shah Din enjoyed humour and unsullied fun.

But usually the serious-mindedness of Mian Shah Din pervaded the family atmosphere. There was talk of good behaviour, social reform, the need for Muslims to avoid extravagance and luxury and so on and so forth. Once at his suggestion a few members of the family, who had been educated in England and had modern ideas, gathered to frame a new social code for the family to check abuses and regulate expenditure on marriages. Among other things, it was agreed and noted down that the marriage or engagement ring was not to cost more than fifty rupees. Now it so happened that in connection with marriages of the sons of Mian Shah Din and Mian Muhammad Shafi, this rule was not strictly observed, on the occasion of their engagements in 1916. But the members of the family including Mian Muhammad Shafi came to an understanding among themselves that Mian Shah Din was not to be informed of the deviation, as he would surely stand in the way of its implementation. About eighteen months later Begum Shah Din, thinking that the matter was no longer of any practical importance related the story to her husband in a light-hearted manner. The next day Mian Shah Din while taking a walk in the Lawrence Gardens (Lahore), with his son (Bashir Ahmad) told him how he had been deeply grieved at the incident. There was no question, he remarked, of his using force in the family. He could only appeal to their good sense. If such elderly and young people, mostly having been educated at Oxford and Cambridge and London, and belonging to such a cultured family could, after cool deliberation, take solemn decisions and then did not have the courage of their convictions and acted contrary to their undertaking, serious doubt would arise in the mind of any intelligent and thoughtful person



"MIAN FAMILY" (OF BAGHBANPURA)

Group taken in May 1917, in Shalamar Gardens, Lahore. Sitting on chairs are Mian Shah Din and Mian Muhammad Shafi, fifth and sixth from right.

as to whether the community to which they belonged could make a mark in the world and secure an honourable place for itself.

Mian Shah Din where he found talent in the family was first and foremost in acknowledging and encouraging it. He wrote a most touching elegy نوائے غم (The Voice of Sorrow), on the untimely death of a brilliant young cousin, Mian Abdul Majid [the elder brother of Mian (Sir) Abdur Rashid] which shows the depth and range of his sincerity and affections.

Mian Shah Din and Mian Muhammad Shafi were not only cousins but were also real friends. On one occasion (during the days that Mian Muhammad Shafi made a mark by his work in the Viceroy's Legislative Council) Mian Shah Din gathered the writer and other young men of the family around them both and held up before them the striking example of the hard work put in and the eminence achieved by his cousin and friend.

It may be mentioned here that barely four months before his death Mian Shah Din advised and persuaded his son (the present writer) to devote a few years of his life as an honorary Professor at the Islamia College, Lahore. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam deeply appreciated this act of Mian Sahib who, years ago, was looked upon by some of them as a severe critic or even an opponent of the Anjuman.

Ability and Character

Mian Shah Din took precedence in life by his exceptional ability and his unparalleled integrity. But it was his character even more than his intellectual attainments that especially distinguished him from others and marked him out to be a true leader and a guiding star for his fellow-men.

We will first speak of his literary accomplishments. As Sir Abdul Qadir wrote in *The Humayun* (January, 1932), Mian Shah Din's ability in English and Urdu was universally appreciated. There was a wonderful flow of language in his English speeches. Later on, his Urdu speeches and some poems also made a deep impression on his contemporaries.

Sir Abdul Qadir added that Mian Sahib had a fine sense of humour too. Once an Iranian poet came to Lahore and called on various people to whom he recited a verbose *Qasida* (eulogium)——and it remained a mystery whether it was his own production or not——and then he would expect them to pay him a pecuniary tribute. He also called on Mian Sahib who was no admirer of *Qasidas;* in fact he thoroughly disapproved of them. The Iranian poet, however, insisted on being heard. So Mian Sahib invited him to a dinner along with a number of his friends. When the poet had finished his performance, Mian Sahib asked his friends to recite some Persian poems of the local poets and himself also recited a few verses. When the time of departure came, Mian Sahib said to the poet, "You have recited your poems and we have recited ours. So we are quits." The poor Iranian's sad and sullen face was a sight to see.

Mian Abdul Aziz, Falak Paima, wrote under the caption "The Times of Mian Shah Din" : "College students flocked to the annual public meetings of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam to hear Mian Shah Din's English speeches. Eloquent he was, but the beauty of his speech lay primarily in the fact that there was a peculiar sweetness in his voice, and he never faltered for want of a word. There was a natural flow in his speech, and this was so rare in those days that no other speaker could make such a beautiful speech in English as he. Those who were jealous of him used to say that he tolerated no rival, but this was not correct. Undoubtedly Mian Shah Din stood like a rock on his principles, and would not slip or stumble——that is why he was not very popular with the British rulers. He was bold and frank and sincere and was not a time-server. The Muslims always spoke of him as Maulvi Shah Din."*

Mian Shah Din's lectures, speeches and articles have already been referred to; many of the more important ones find a place in the present collection of his English writings. He distinguished himself particularly by giving thought to

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* *The Humayun*, January, 1932.

the needs and aspirations of the Muslim community. He was considered by scholars an authority on the subject. In a letter addressed to him he was asked by Sir T. Morrison to contribute a chapter to the Cambridge History of India on "The Muhammadan Revival", for which, however, he could not find time. Of his Urdu writings and poems, the poems were published about four years after his death (in 1922) under the title of *Jazabat-i-Humayun* (جذبات ھمایوں) This collection contained a very brief account of his life by the present writer, followed by a comprehensive and critical dissertation on his poetry by Maulana Tajwar Najibabadi. The critic, while recognizing that Mian Sahib had little time to attend to poetry as an art, and could only occasionally indulge in giving expression to his poetic inspiration——and that is why we do not find him in the front ranks of our poets——concluded by saying that the few poems of his that have come down to us contain a storehouse of ideas which would be found to be most valuable for the national and moral uplift of our people. The critic further opined that in the elegance, sweetness and natural flow of language, "Humayun" stood unrivalled among the Punjab poets. In this he said that Mian Shah Din's poetry resembled that of the poets from the Urduspeaking areas of India.

Although his poetic thoughts were generally serious and purposeful, we find some fine examples of humour interspersed in his poems. In a symposium of the *Bazm-i-Urdu* (بزم اردو), Lahore held on 2nd June 1917, about a year before his death, he read out the following humorous verses, wherein he did not hesitate to criticize himself for his overseriousness.

روک دی ھیں کس نے ان کی طبع کی جولانیاں
شاعران زندہ دل بیٹھے ھیں گھبرائے ھوئے
لطف کیا ممنوع ھو جب داستان حسن و عشق
بے زباں عشاق اور معشوق شرمائے ھوئے
اے ھمایوں کیوں نہ ھو مفقود پھر زندہ دلی
تم سے مردہ دل ھوں جب اس بزم میں آئے ھوئے!

"Who has stopped the fleetness of their minds,
For the lively poets seem to be agitated and depressed ?
What room is there for pleasure where the story of beauty and love be censored,
The lovers all silent and the beloved ones all reserved and shy,
O Humayun ! what wonder if liveliness be crushed,
Where withered minds like yours be present on the scene" !

One would expect a very serious-minded thinker and reformer and puritan like him, who was a disciplinarian for himself and others, to be devoid of sentiment and emotion. But strange as it may seem, side by side with a thoroughly scrupulous nature, which insisted on following a rationalistic course of life, he had the heart of a poet and at times the vision of a mystic.

We have witnessed his work as a social reformer from his early days. On the occasion of a marriage function at the house of a prominent Muslim in Lahore where Mian Sahib was invited, he left the place as soon as he saw a dancing girl appear on the scene, at he considered such practices contrary to moral principle and social progress. * His presence inspired respect and a sense of propriety, and caused a feeling of discomfiture among those who were either too superstitious and reactionary or devoted to mere hilarity and merriment.

His liberal views in the matter of religious reform were criticized by the very orthodox people who went even to the extent of defaming him, but as some one aptly wrote on his death, "his practical helpfulness and services to his community throughout his career decisively proved that he was a sincere Musalman, who had the moral and material uplift of his people at heart."† His reserve and quietness were sometimes misunderstood or even misinterpreted.

* *The Daily Paisa Akhbar*, 6th July, 1918.

† Muhammad Zafar's letter published in *The Paisa Akhbar* dated 16th July, 1918.

But his aims were lofty. He wanted to do his best to help in the uplift of his fellow men, and in the fulfilment of his task he achieved notable success. Whenever he came into contact with others, they would try to be on their best behaviour. No silly remarks could with impunity be made nor could improper action be freely indulged in while he was present. That is why he was unpopular with certain people. But he never craved for popularity or cheap success. The genuinely patriotic people who cared for the good of the community had the greatest respect for him and that was enough for him. *The Paisa Akhbar*, Lahore, in its editorial dated July 4, 1918, wrote: "All those who really know of his public and private life agree that today the ablest Muslim of the Punjab is dead." As for Mian Shah Din himself he must have been content after doing his best in the worldly sphere to join "the great commonwealth of the dead."

In his lecture delivered in December, 1894 to Aligarh students, we find a happy combination of Mian Shah Din's rational and moral ideal, with an emphasis on the moral side. "Education," he said, was "a process of active self-growth co-extensive with the whole work of a man's life." "From the highest functions of the spirit and sense of which man is capable descend to the minutest details of human action on this side of the grave, and you will find that your moral nature comes into contact with the realities of life much oftener and closer than your purely intellectual self; that the heart is much more human in its affinities than the head; and that taking the social relations of mankind in the aggregate, the suzerainty of the world of proper action is by natural right the heritage of the moral sense than of the intellect of man." "A properly cultivated character and a well-disciplined will are far more valuable than any amount of mere book-learning and brain-power." Among the requisites of moral culture he mentioned "the companionship of books as well as friends." "To develop into a miscellaneous reader is, to my mind, the greatest misfortune that can befall a serious student." Hold fast to the great

books in all branches of literature...Remember always that a crowd is not company, and that the larger the number of your companions, the greater the danger of your character being exposed to moral contamination...Choose your associates from men of cultivated character and virtuous persistency"..."Blessed through life are those sons of men whose ideal of friendship is as lofty as it is pure......The reading of good books and the keeping of good company are doubtless invaluable aids...but you should timely learn to be independent of such external aid, and cultivate that power of self-acquaintance and self-analysis which lies at the root of all moral discipline"..."To this end you must learn to be frequently alone...It is in such moments that you feel that 'the Kingdom of heaven' is within you, not without." "In your own self you have got the surest and the sagest guide to all excellence in life, if you will have the courage and the faith to be rightly guided by yourself"..."Acquire the necessary will-power to keep under restraint your turbulent impulses"...But "you must not run away with the idea that you should cultivate habits of exclusiveness and worship cynicism as a great virtue"..."Let not your sympathies be limited to a certain class of actions or of men in particular walks of life"..."If you must live an active life, live it with sympathies broad as the boundless air, and with an expansive and all-embracing soul"..."Each of you, therefore, must cultivate enthusiastic admiration for great men and golden deeds, for it is by admiring these in a spirit of feeling reverence that you can lift yourself up to their high level."

That Mian Shah Din valued character more than intellect can also be seen from a perusal of the speech he made in the Lahore citizens' public meeting held on 27th July, 1917 to mourn the death of Sir P. C. Chatterji, when he said, "If Indians in large numbers remembered that far more than intellectual attainments they should value character, their country would attain to such heights of progress as they could not even dream of at present."

Mian Shah Din loved and adored Nature. In his letters to his brother published in 1891, he said, "Oh ! how delightful it was to get out of that dense, interminable jungle of human dwellings. Man, man, man everywhere, whose discordant hurly-burly drowns the sweet musical voice of Nature. . .It is a spot capable of inspiring with poetic ideas the most prosaic of men." "Light-winged Poesy may soar aloft in this Elysian region and sing like the blithe skylark of love and joy and beauty." "As a boy I had day after day watched the tiny bud grow into the full-blown beauty of the red, red rose". . ."I had often taken the vernal bower into confidence and broken long preserved silence in a loud familiar talk with the soft morning breeze." Speaking of Scottish Highland scenery he said, "I came, I saw——I wish I could say I conquered. But being conquered by is to conquer nature." Looking at Nature he thought of the role and destiny of man. "One cannot help wishing in a place like this, after observing the healthy contrast between the feverish excitement and life-competition of weak, suffering humanity on the one hand, and the calm, careless, confident appearance and growth of the joyful flowers and grass on the other,——one cannot help wishing that it was within man's power now and then "to shuffle off this mortal coil," and as a metamorphosed being claim "liberty, equality and fraternity," with the narcissus, the daisy or the happy band of the lilies of the field "that toil not, neither do they spin." "But this unbounded bliss is not and cannot be the portion of man. We are meant for serious trial, and it is chiefly in our capacity to suffer without utterly breaking down that lies our peculiar strength". . .Here is his philosophy of life. He takes life seriously, faces its trials and tribulations cheerfully and creates something grand out of it.

The writer remembers how once (sometime during the last 3 years of his life) while accompanying him in his evening walk in Bagh-i-Jinnah (then Lawrence Gardens), Lahore, Mian Sahib told him of an Urdu couplet he had

Gallery, Lord Darnley's room and Mary's apartments are full of interest to the student and the antiquarian. Here we see Queen Mary's Red Chamber, Audience Chamber (where it is said she disputed with Knox), Supper Room, &c. One or two rooms are associated with tragic episodes to which I need not allude.

From the palace we retraced our steps through Canongate to John Knox's house, a place well worth visiting. The elderly lady in charge of the house showed us all over it, and related (with a delightful Scotch accent) the many incidents in the inflexible Knox's life connected with the various pictures and movable pieces of furniture. From this window Knox used to preach to his admiring congregation assembled below in the street, when on account of weather or some other cause he could not go to his church close by. This is the oak chair (300 years old) on which Knox used to sit with his writing desk before him. With becoming modesty and due deference to the great Reformer, I sat in this historic chair, and almost trembled at the contrast. Look at that bright figure, mountainous in its grandeur that from its empyrean height casts its ennobling glance at us, piercing through the mist of time ; and now look at this puny creature, a mite among men, a cypher among figures, almost squatting like a toad in the great man's seat. I trembled at the contrast. I got up at once, pricked by a strange electric sensation. A good many incidents, stories and local scenes of living, moving and dying ; and we bade a lingering farewell to the intrepid Scotch Reformer and his temporary abode.

Leaving Knox's house, we went down to Waverley station, and took the train to Melrose. About four miles from Melrose lies the picturesque Abbotsford, the country residence of the great Scott. This is a place full of Nature's delightful forms and hues, and scenic beauties. Above all, it is rich in historical associations of a superb character. In this happy place then we must linger for a while, and drink in all that it can yield of solitude and peace and joy, and soft repose.

older, became apparent during the last few years of his life. One day, while talking to his son about their social life, he advised him to mix more with the people generally than he himself had done. He was against all superstitious beliefs and practices, but was ready to listen to the call of the spirit. During his last years it was noticed that while looking at the starry heavens Mian Sahib was occasionally lost in reverie and a sense of wonder !

Mian Shah Din did not regard his own ideas about life and universe as conclusive and final. To the end he kept his mind open and tried to look into himself objectively. Of one thing only he was sure. To him life had a purpose—— Righteous Action. He lived and strove and died for it !

PART II

WRITINGS

I

NATIVE GIRLS SCHOOLS: THEIR SHORT-COMINGS AND HOW TO REMEDY THEM*

I

A Girls' School is no strange importation into this country. Even during the days of anarchy and misrule, when no proper boys' schools existed, several villages possessed the means of giving their girls a smattering of some religious doctrines. From time immemorial the Muhammadan community has considered it a meritorious act and a sacred duty to make their children learn certain portions of the Quran by rote. The Hindus on account of numerous causes have not been so pious, but among them every lady who could find leisure to read a few Hindi or Gurmukhi translations of the Purans or other mythological works has been always considered a learned lady and honoured as such.

The sole object kept in view in these indigenous institutions was to impart, in a rude way, a very elementary knowledge of the popular religious beliefs. No secular edu-

* This (the first) article was not found among the papers of Mian Shah Din. It was, however, brought to the notice of the writer by the Librarian, Punjab Public Library, last year, that there was an article published in 1887 in the April and July issues of *The Punjab Magazine* (The Organ of the Punjab Association) signed by "S. D. (a native graduate)." Now it so happened that Mian Shah Din graduated from the Government College, Lahore, in that very year at the age of nineteen. This as well as the similarity of thought and style leads to the conclusion that it was written by him under the pseudonym of "S. D", and contributed to the said magazine before he left for his studies in England. It shows how much interest he took in women's education even while he was a student.

cation was aimed at; writing was utterly neglected and arithmetic was never dreamt of. Even the teachers entrusted with the instruction of girls, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, were ignorant of the four simple rules. But notwithstanding these shortcomings in the scheme pursued in old *Patshalas* or *Maktabs* for girls, there is no denying the fact that there did exist institutions for imparting knowledge, however elementary and sectarian, to the female sex. I cannot but do justice to this primitive machinery of instruction by saying that the teachers who were employed in this sacred task had no worldly prospects held out to them, and they cheerfully discharged the self-imposed duty as a meritorious service. The pupils never attained to any high standard of studies nor was it ever considered worthwhile to develop their mental faculties. But here and there very favourable examples cropped up. Mai Bhagwati, who has more than once very eloquently and thoughtfully addressed large audiences in Lahore and Amritsar, is only an Alumnus of one of these old village girls' schools in this province.

After these preliminary remarks, I hope the reader will agree with me that the custom of sending girls to schools did exist in this country before the advent of the British, though the schools and studies were quite different from the present. I now proceed to show how the already existing germ should be developed, how the custom which does obtain should be taken hold of and utilized in the attainment of one of the noblest causes of humanity.

But before I begin to make any practical suggestions, I think it advisable to draw the reader's attention to the present state of girls' schools generally, and then, having pointed out the defects in the present arrangements, to lay before him the remedies for removing them.

Schools for native girls in this province may be conveniently divided into four groups, according to the creeds to which the pupils belong and according to the media of instruction. The schools for the girls of native Christians, as they exist, are well-managed as far as I know, and as my knowledge about them is very slight I have no intention

of speaking about them in this paper. The same may be said of Muhammadan Girls' Schools, but as the social customs and manners of the Hindus and Muhammadans agree in several respects, my remarks on some part of them apply *mutatis mutandis* to this second group. The third group comprises the Hindi schools, which are attended by girls of the Hindu persuasion, and where the medium of instruction is generally Hindi and sometimes Gurmukhi. Sikh schools come in the fourth group, which, with the exception of the universal adoption of Gurmukhi as the medium of instruction, present no other marked difference from the third group.

When a person ordinarily in the habit of going to boys' school of this day steps for the first time into a common girls' school, something quite strange from what he expected is likely to meet his sight. School apparatus and other educational appliances, well swept rooms and walls whitewashed and perhaps decorated with a few Natural History diagrams, are all wanting. He sees a number of small girls, generally cleaner than pupils of equal age of the other sex, seated in a circular way, on a mat sometimes covered with a gunny cloth, and all overspread with pieces of reed-pens and bespotted with ink, and the bare walls of the school room plastered with cow-dung. To say nothing of other school requisites, not even a blackboard is considered necessary.

After the visitor has seated himself on a dirty chair with an arm broken, and which has been most probably borrowed from a neighbour for the occasion, I suppose him to take the attendance register in his hand, and to call the roll. This will reveal to him the real state of the institution, and he will be quite startled to find a great disproportion between the number on the rolls and the number present. I have presumed that no previous notice of the visit was given, for in such a case the teachers generally try to show all on the rolls, and sometimes even more, to gain the favourable opinion of the visitor. He sometimes finds to his great sorrow, that very few girls are regular in their attendance.

Their mothers generally keep them from school on trivial excuses. Plaiting the hair, changing clothes, going to a temple, an infinite number of family rites, prove insurmountable barriers in the path of their instruction.

"What is the position of the girls' parents?" is the next question which comes uppermost in the visitor's mind. If it is a village school, he will find that it is supplied from that section of the community which has no claim to be called the middle class and the pupils attend it only in the expectation of getting a stipend or a prize. Interspersed among younger girls, he will also see a few young women. They are the victims of prejudice and social custom. When their youth had scarcely come into blossom they were bereaved of their husbands. Most of them were then probably so young as not to understand what setting fire to the funeral pyre meant. Poor things! they have been ruined for ever, and their unuttered wailings and unheard cries have not yet produced a champion to release them from the clutches of the demon of enforced widowhood. But herein lies a lesson to the stronger sex. The patience and perseverance with which they bear their irreparable loss, and the high moral character which they generally have, ought to be made a model to be followed by their brothers.

The case is different in towns like Lahore or Amritsar. There the educated classes have begun to send their daughters to school, and their example is being wisely followed by others. Widows also freely attend.

Having done with these enquiries we ask next: "Who is the master? Is he a man of education and sound understanding?" In the majority of cases he is neither. He is a man who still believes the earth to be encircled by successive rings of milk and boiled rice. He tacitly adheres to the belief that Lanka is peopled by the Rakhshasas, and that broad cloth is woven by beasts who have a horse's head on human bodies. The Pandit or the Bhai is generally employed for his local influence and has no recommendation other than his advanced age. Indeed the want of suitable masters is a rock that has wrecked many a scheme of female education. Are

persons in an Oriental country to entrust their daughters to a man of untested character? No, they will never do so, and will rather let their girls remain untutored. Mistresses of approved character and well educated to take charge of even an Upper Primary School are unknown. Female Normal Schools, which have been existing for the last twenty years, and which combine the functions both of a Normal and an ordinary school, have never passed a single student in the Middle School Examination, nor sent out a single pupil competent to teach an Upper Primary School. If we are to abide by public opinion in this respect, Female Normal Schools are generally looked upon as utter failures. As long as these institutions continue as they are, we cannot at all hope to see female education flourishing in this country.

Another stumbling block, not in any way inferior to those already described, is the want of suitable books. Surely this is a want to supply which is the duty of young educated men, who must long for the intellectual advancement of their sisters. Urdu has been considered the chief vernacular in this province. Consequently much has not been done in the shape of Hindi books. Some of the works of our well-known Sanskrit and Hindi scholar, Babu Navina Chandra Roy, a few text books of the Central Provinces Services, and the Hindi version of some of the readers of the Punjab Vernacular Services form the curricula of Hindu Girls' Schools. The Urdu books in their present forms are quite sufficient for the purpose, but, with few exceptions, they have nothing specially suited to girls.

But granted that all these evils were removed, there is still one social evil which will long continue to stand in the way of female education. To the great disheartening of those who are connected with a girls' school, it often happens that the crown of the whole institution, to whom the master and all looked for the best result of their labours, is taken away and married. As the custom at present is in towns, girls are not allowed to remain unmarried till twelve or thirteen at the farthest limit. Generally they are given away much earlier. In the case of villages, the maximum limit

may be increased by a year or two. Now imagine that a girl was admitted into the school at the age of six years and was removed when she became twelve; if she was a very regular and industrious girl and had every facility to study, she could only go a class higher than the Upper Primary Standard, according to the system of classification which is at present in practice in Government Schools. What a sheer waste of time and energy. It has been found practically that if a school is well-managed, girls could easily pass the Upper Primary Standard in three years. The writer of this article has the honour to be connected with a girls' school at Lahore which was established about two years ago. In this short period of life, it has been raised to the 5th class Upper Primary, and if circumstances continue favourable, it hopes to pass six or seven girls in the Upper Primary Examination next session.

This list of defects could be easily extended, but I intend to revert to this subject on some other occasion. The suggestions that I have to make will then be put before the reader.

S. D.
(A Native Graduate).

II

Having pointed out some of the prominent defects in the present girls' schools of this province, I proceed to make certain suggestions as to how those evils may be removed.

The first defect mentioned in the previous article was the untidy appearance of the school-house and the utter scarcity of educational appliances. To those who have never been engaged in the work of practical instruction, outward cleanliness and a number of diagrams adorning the rooms may seem not so very essential or even superfluous. But

The Punjab Magazine, July 1887.

those who have devoted their time to teaching know that childhood is the plastic stage of the human mind. In a pupil you have the raw material brought before you to be moulded and impressed upon, and these impressions will remain through life. In every respect the pupils copy their instructor, who is to them like an oracle and whom they rightly think a source of everything that is commendable. The inexperienced scholars have not yet arrived at the age of maturity; therefore, whatever example is set to them by their pedagogue is very readily followed. Hence it is quite necessary that the teacher must not be only an instructing machine but in every respect should be an unimpeachable model for the pupils to copy. He must be punctual, thoroughly industrious, energetic and judicious. He must insist on the clean appearance of his scholars and must always set them an example himself. When the teacher and the pupils have learnt to appreciate cleanliness and neatness in their own persons, they will naturally begin to abhor dirt and dust. All that has been said of a teacher generally applies with greater force to a teacher of girls. At present there are few openings for native educated girls in this country, and, therefore, school life has no such attraction for them as in the case of boys. The chief inducement which carries them to school is the probability of their instruction proving convenient hereafter, and many a girl's parent fondly thinks of those days when the daughter will be able to send letters from her husband's house to her mother, and to those days when, a little more grown up, she will become the mistress of a small family and keep accounts. These are indeed very practical desires, but it is the duty of their teachers not to give them only a smattering in the three R's but also to cultivate their habits and to try to make them competent to discharge the duties of womanhood in a more laudable manner than their illiterate sisters. Therefore, it is very urgent that the value of cleanliness must be impressed upon their minds when they are in school and practically demonstrated by keeping the school-premises quite clean. This can be very easily accomplished. Every Municipal Board or a

private body keeping a girls' school can very well afford to sanction a trifling amount for this purpose, if it is brought to their notice. But the plant is poisoned in its very roots. The teachers in charge have often not thought of it, and so no improvement takes place. As long as the old generation of masters and mistresses continues, there is not much to be hoped from them in this respect. They require to be directed and it is the duty of the supervising officers to direct them.

The diagrams when hung in a school room serve a manifold purpose. Firstly, they afford excellent opportunities for observation to the junior classes, who seeing the pictures before them want to know what they represent, and thus indirectly widen their circle of general information. Secondly, they train the eye. Even grown up natives are found incapable of distinguishing the various parts of a drawing. In a landscape painting they often cannot say which is water and which is land. This is to be attributed to no other cause than that they had no training to observe in their school days, and it was never considered necessary for them to go beyond reading and writing letters. A knowledge of common objects, a general acquaintance with the useful articles of daily use has never been systematically imparted in this country. But the world is always progressing. Modern views of education assign a very high place to pictures and diagrams in the instruction of infants, and, therefore, it is quite necessary that they should be supplied to every school according to its funds.

The managers of a school can do what lies in their power to give a decent appearance to an institution and to supply it with cheap and instructive illustrations, but they cannot force girls to attend. A school which is not regularly attended will never prosper, and a scholar who is not regular in attendance will not profit much by instruction. A very wise step has been taken by the Education Department in awarding attendance grants to schools which may be deserving of it. Surely this will have a very salutary effect, for the managers, in order to earn extra allowances, will try their best to make their pupils regular. But parents of girls are

the best persons to be appealed to by the managers to remove this shortcoming. The utility of regular attendance of their daughters must be thoroughly explained to them, and then they will readily help those who have directly taken the burden of female education on their shoulders. If I am not wrong, mothers often think it a relief when their girls are in school, and send them there to be out of the way. But when they begin to appreciate Female Education, and come to know the advantages of it, they will not detain their girls on trivial excuses, and for unimportant matters.

In such schools as can afford to give them, a few attendance stipends may be established, but it must be kept in view that the school should not be permitted to become a totally eleemosynary one. Having regard to the present state of native society, elderly women may be employed as matrons to bring grown-up girls to school and to take them back to their homes after the school is over.

As already mentioned, the majority of girls attending schools have no claim to be reckoned as children of the aristocracy or even the gentry. Most of them are there for the sake of stipends. But this state of things cannot be improved in the twinkling of an eye. There is already a fair sprinkling of the girls of well-to-do families, and it is hoped that their example will attract many more at no distant period. When these girls enter the world they will encourage their own daughters to go to school, and then, but not earlier, will the object of the advocates of female education be accomplished. Certainly Rome was not built in a day. Every thing has its own time, and every harvest must take time to ripen. The reformers must also patiently wait and let matters have their natural course.

In order to obtain competent female teachers, Female Normal Schools should be established on a reformed basis. The Victoria School and similar institutions will supply in a few years a pretty large number of girls who, if properly trained, are expected to become good instructors. Unfortunately, the Normal Schools for ladies are not properly

officered, and it would be very desirable if a trained master of approved abilities and good character were invited to pay occasional visits. Visits of European ladies of good social position would also produce a very wholesome effect.

I have to make one more suggestion, in order to obtain good female teachers and to ensure their continuous efficiency. These ladies may be given to understand that their promotion will depend not only on their results but also on the improvement which they make themselves. Thus if a mistress has already qualified herself by the Upper Primary standard, let it be explained to her that her labour in school will be more appreciated if she keeps up her private studies and passes the Middle School Examination. Undoubtedly a teacher's profession affords every facility for improving one's own knowledge, and when this extra pecuniary inducement is given every sensible lady is likely to profit by it.

Certainly no one individual can do all that is to be done towards female education. Those who take the lead must be supported and sympathized with by the outside public, and writing new and good books is a task in which the intelligent and willing sympathizers could very well assist them. But it is true they want some encouragement, and in this country where a paternal government has taken everything upon itself, patronizing approved authors might as well be taken up by it. There are no Macmillans and Longmans in India to pay literary men in a handsome way. Private educational bodies (which are very few) and Government must pay these men in some form or other.

There may be persons who attribute the scarcity of well written vernacular books for girls to the want of good writers, but I beg to assure them that they are wrong. There are many men who could be very usefully employed, but they keep back, for they are aware their services will not be adequately recognized.

Text-books intended for girls must differ from the books for boys. Besides information of common objects, they must keep up before the girls a very high idea of morality. There must also be a fair share allotted in these books to economy, and household arts such as cooking, sewing, elementary medicine, &c. Last, though not least, is the obstacle of the early marriage system. Whatever the theorist may imagine, it is surely quite impossible that in India, generally speaking, girls will be kept unmarried up to the age that they remain so in European countries. In its customs and manners, every nation takes its shape from physical surroundings. India being a hotter country, medical authorities agree that native girls are matured earlier than their European sisters. Then there are religious and social superstitions, which play an important part in keeping this system alive. As long as this state of affair continues, there can be no reasonable hope of marriage in adult age becoming a universal custom of this country. Even among Brahmans (a very advancing and radical Hindu sect), fourteen has been legally declared as the marriageable age. Then, for many years to come, we will have to be contented with our girls being removed from school after marriage, but nevertheless we must attempt to impart to them the maximum amount of knowledge before they are married. The scheme of studies as laid down for Government Schools requires five years for a girl to pass the Upper Primary standard. Every right-thinking man will consider it a great waste of time and surely it is so. The period could very easily be cut down to three. When, in the Aitchison College, young chiefs are expected to qualify by the Upper Primary standard in four years, there is no reason why girls who have to do no English, no Persian and less Arithmetic, should be incapable of finishing the course in three years.

This suggestion, if practically carried out, will give a clear saving of two years which could be very advantageously used in furthering the knowledge of girls.

A word more and I have done. In the present state of native society, at least so far as this province goes, it is quite absurd to attempt teaching English to our girls, and to carry them, generally speaking, beyond the Upper Primary Department. Of course matters will be much mended as time passes and when the present generation of our pupils become mothers, their daughters will be available for a higher stage of education.

S. D.

2

A MUHAMMADAN IN ENGLAND

I

The Civil and Military Gazette, Wednesday, September 17, 1890.—Editorial Note :—

AMONG the Punjabi students who are making good use of their time in England is Mian Shah Din, of the Mian family of Baghbanpura—the large village between Lahore and Shalamar Gardens. Some time ago we published a letter from him describing his London experiences. The following gives his impressions of a railway journey to Scotland.

(32 Montague Place, August 8).

You must have been surprised at my silence for the last 3 or 4 weeks, without writing a word of explanation. I believe I told you in a previous letter, * about a month and a half ago, that I intended to pay a visit to Scotland, and, if possible, to some country places in the north of England. Having been shut up in London (the "Fog-Babylon" as Carlyle so finely calls it) for nearly two years and a half, I naturally felt a desire to go out of town and catch a few glimpses of God's beautiful nature in the Highlands of Scotland, about the picturesqueness of which I had heard so much from some of my Indian friends who had "taken the trouble" to visit that country. I say "taken the trouble" because we Indians, even those of us who leave their homes and cross thousands of miles of angry ocean to reach fair England's shore, do not by any means possess the same delightful craving for travel, nor do we feel it even half

* Unfortunately this letter could not be traced in *The Civil and Military Gazette* file. As will be made clear later on, Mian Sahib wrote from Britain these three letters to his elder brother Mian Taj Din, who on the persuasion of some friends, sent them to *The Civil and Military Gazette* for publication.

so intensely as these English people do. Our English friends are no doubt fond of home ("home sweet home" as they often sing of it), but they have a keen relish for going abroad such as we do not even dream of. It may be that there are among us Indians at this day, young men possessed of an exceptionally restless temperament and fond of long country rambles, in whom this youthful propensity may, as they grow up, develop into a longing to travel in foreign countries far from their native land. I wish I were one of those promising young men. I have no wish to prejudice in any way the view that some amiable people may be pleased to take of the energetic nature and enterprising spirit of young India by holding myself up as a typical instance of what untravelled Indian students are, but I have reasons to believe that I am not the only noteworthy example of Indian indolence. However, I must not blame a whole class because I happen to be rather slothfully disposed, so far at least as travelling abroad is concerned.

For a long time I had felt the desire to go out of town and roam about, if time allowed of it, in green fields and silent valleys, and breathe fresh country air like a bird released by some kindly hands from its caged confinement. I ought to have taken advantage of my comparatively leisure days after my call to the Bar in June to gratify my wishes. But that constitutional laziness and indisposition to move, from which, as you know, I at times so much suffer, kept me in London until the middle of July last. At length I sternly resolved to go to Scotland, in spite of the unfavourable weather (which, as you know, is seldom favourable to us poor slighted Indians) and circumstances enabled me to leave London for Edinburgh on 16th of July in company with our delightful frontier friend Mr. Hakim Khan.

We took train at Euston in the morning at 10, and in a few minutes were out of the reach of noisy and smoky London. Oh, how delightful it was to get out of that dense, interminable jungle of human dwellings! Man, man, man everywhere, whose discordant hurly-burly drowns the sweet musical voice of nature. At least so I for one feel it at

times. The Scotch mail train that leaves Euston for Edinburgh runs very fast, almost at the rate of 54 miles an hour. So it is known as the "Flying Scotsman". Once in the "Flying Scotsman" and we flew away like a bird just escaped from its iron cage. As the train passed Harrow-on-the-Hill we just caught a hurried glimpse of its wooded heights and of the pretty little "knoll" on which is situated the delightful villa of Mr. Bosworth Smith, the well known author of *Muhammadanism* and *Life of Lord Lawrence*. This place is famous for the Harrow Grammar School, one of the best fashionable public schools in England, along with those of Eton and Rugby. Leaving Harrow behind, we glided on through still, green meadows, and rushed swiftly past Pinner, catching a glimpse of its beautifully wooded hill on the left. In a little more than an hour we reached Rugby, well known for its world-famed public school founded by Sheriffe, originally a poor man who rose to eminence and fortune in London through his industry—and steamed along as fast as we could, and reached Crewe at 1-20 p. m. where the train stops for 5 minutes. To most of the other stations which we left behind, we only paid, in the true sense of the word, a "flying visit". The train approached them with a warning whistle, and in a second rushed past them like a frowning fury, leaving perhaps a whiff of smoke behind as its memento, when it glided swiftly along, until its roar dimmed in the far distance, and the tremulous rails were at peace again.

Between Crewe and Preston, which was our next stopping station, I caught many a brief view of green and verdant meadows that clothe youthful nature with the bright robes of a heart-winning bride. As I was reposing softly in my seat, absorbed in "a thousand confused delicious musings", I suddenly caught sight on my right of two trains running on a double line from opposite directions. They looked like two smoke-serpents hissing swiftly along, propelled by a fiery passion and rapidly advancing towards each other until they seemed to close in a death-grapple. But what seemed a death-grapple was only perhaps a friendly meeting, for each emerged from the confused struggle, untouched and

unassailed. Being children of the same element, they could not ignore their community of origin and the sisterly affection they owed each other. Just like two fleecy clouds borne along on the trembling pinions of the air they approach each other in perfect peace, then glide gently away on their destined path, whispering perhaps into each other's ear a soft good-bye.

We reached Preston at about 2-20 p. m. and stopped there for 20 minutes. Leaving the fine station of Preston we steam through the busy suburbs of manufacturing towns, crossing the Lancaster coast, amidst picturesque scenery on both sides. We speed on, and on, and on, until I seemed to imagine we were running a race with swift-footed time. We pass the busy town of Lancaster, and for about three miles skirted the shores of the beautiful Morecambe Bay, gaining a full view of the distant sea and the waste of waters stretching as far as the eye could glance. Here open on our right, we saw a string of vapour-clad hills on the left affording a splendid view of waters that brings peace and solace to the city-pestered soul, and strength to the wearied mind. We hurried past beauteous forms. I gazed at them, and gazed again, and gazed on until I fancied I could see in them the image of beauty, joy, grace, and grandeur.

"The Flying Scotsman" steamed on, through sunshine and rain, over brooks and under hills, until we gain on our left a prospect of surpassing lordliness afforded by the mist-enshrouded mountains of Cumberland. We catch glimpses of many an open field smiling with waving corn, and of rich meadows that feed the roaming herds of cattle. As we passed through agricultural districts, I could not help noticing Her Gentleness, the Queen Empress of Indian farm stock, and Indra's revered daughter, the milky mother, quietly grazing in the field or chewing the cud with her head thrown down. She almost seemed to be pensively meditating on her own fate, and the comparatively good fortune of her favoured sisters in that Land of Vegetarianism and Water, the country of the humane Hindu. How relentless is beef-eating man! Thus to sacrifice to his own selfish

gourmandism the life-happiness of the harmless and highly useful, aye, and truly indispensable cow ! But stop, I must not indulge in fond musings. This is not the place to moralize and to teach. Besides, who am I thus to arrogate to myself the proud function of the soft-hearted reverential Brahman, to whom is reserved the privilege of giving to things of this earth a strange air of high divinity.

Thrusting aside for the moment all idea of suffering animal life and obdurate man, we must turn once more to what seems to most of us inanimate nature. Just look to your left. What a magnificent panorama of pastures, and corn-fields, and smiling valleys, and glimmering hills that have lifted heads high above the low-lying earth, as if raised a tip-toe by a fond desire to kiss the fair blue sky ! This is only a brief glimpse of the charming scenery of the English Lake District, associated with the memories of Wordsworth and Coleridge and Southey. The sky is not without its usual patches of dark clouds scattered here and there, and hanging over green hills as if anxious to screen them from the sun. There is a peculiar freshness in the air which we so much miss in murky and foggy London. To the right or to the left we see now and then a lonely brook that goes softly murmuring by. Hills and valleys break in the view on our right side. The sun, just hidden behind a shifting mass of air-riding clouds, now shoots out a gentle ray, as if eager to steal a hurried glance at the hills that slumbered in soft repose on the earth below. The scene was so divinely beautiful, that it seemed, looking at the clustered hills, as though the meek earth had risen humbly to shake hands with the high heavens or to imprint a warm kiss on their serene forehead in loving admiration.

We reached Carlisle at 4-25. Leaving Carlisle we were rather hurriedly introduced to fair Scotland. The sky was now almost overcast with dark clouds which gave a sombre look to the mountains in the dim distance. In our onward journey we crossed the path of several springs gushing from the hill-side, that in their courses seemed to be murmuring at the haughty interference of man in having thrown their

wayward waters into channels of his own choosing. Thick dark clouds now smothered the sun, and Scotland kindly treated us to brief showers of refreshing rain. The hill scenery was very beautiful and possessed a grandeur of its own. We skirted a long range of hills to the right, then emerged into open country, the ground gently sloping as far as the eye could reach, broken by the covered hillocks that appeared darkling in the distance.

At last, after a little more than eight hours' journey, we came in sight of Edinburgh. We were just a little behind time, which was our first experience of want of punctuality in Scotch trains, of which more hereafter. A kind friend received us at the station, and took us to our lodgings. From London to Edinburgh is a great change. The air was fresh and cool; and after a pleasant journey the two tired Punjabis enjoyed a sound sleep at night, which braced them up for sight-seeing on the coming morrow.

II

Editorial Note by The Civil and Military Gazette, dated 24th September, 1890 :—

We have published previous letters from Mian Shah Din, of the Mian family of Baghbanpura—the large village between Lahore and Shalamar Gardens—describing his London experiences and a visit to Scotland. The following, written to his brother, gives his impressions of North Wales and the conclusion of his visit to Edinburgh.

Mount-View, Bettws-y-Coed, August 13.

I am writing to you from the beautiful little village of Bettws-y-Coed (I should like to hear you pronounce this name) in North Wales. This place is situated in a lovely valley on the fringe of Snowdon. It affords a choice specimen of Welsh scenery. Surrounded on all sides by wooded hills and heather-clad rocks with a fine sprinkling of grass and

fern, and rich in thick groves of Scotch-fir and larch and dark-green pine, it is a little paradise on earth.

It is a spot capable of inspiring with poetic ideas the most prosaic of men. Light-winged Poesy may soar aloft in this Elysian region, and sing like the blithe skylark of love and joy and beauty. It is a favourite resort of painters, whence it is known as the Paradise of Painters.

But of this more in its proper place. I must resume the rambling narration of my trip to Scotland, and Wales (picturesque little Wales) must wait yet for a time.

In my last letter I just introduced you to Edinburgh. I left you then to rest for the night. Well, the night's rest over, we (I mean Hakim Khan and I) started the next morning for sight-seeing. I had determined not to see much of the town itself, although Edinburgh is considered by a good many people as a picturesque city. Having been in London for close upon three years, I had seen so much of town life and of endless jungles of human dwellings and crowded streets, that I was pretty nearly sick of whatever bears the semblance of a city. I had been driven to Scotland chiefly by a desire to see nature in her wild and freedom-inspiring moods, and not to sniff the vapours of populous slums (or say of fashionable streets, for they have their own vapourings) in a Northern city. But it was rather difficult to act fully on this rigid principle. So on the first day we went to see the much talked of Forth Bridge, which now-a-days is one of the "sights to see". We went by one of the four-in-hand tourist coaches past the beautiful residence of Sir W. Muir, author of the well-known *"Life of Muhammad"*, and formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. Provinces, now Principal of the Edinburgh University. Continuing our drive for a short distance up and down the hill, with green fields and woods on both sides, there commences the Demesne estate of the Earl of Rosebery, extending as far as South Queen's Ferry. This property is so finely situated, abounding in beautiful woods, corn-fields and picturesque parks stocked with game, that its sight excited even in my bosom (with a well balanced emphasis on "even") the

"possessory ambition" inherent in the nature of the ordinary run of men. As we approach South Queen's Ferry the fantastic towers of the bridge come into view on the right. The coach descends the picturesque steep of Hawes Brae, and passing under the viaduct of the bridge, draws up at Hawes Inn mentioned by Scott in "*The Antiquary*".

Here we alighted from the coach, and taking a steamboat went right under the bridge, and examined the stupendous structure which from its enormous size and strength is a marvel of engineering skill. The total space spanned is rather more than a mile and a half. The bridge proper (excluding the approach viaducts) consists of 3 cantilevers, "springing from 3 sets of 4 huge towers of tubular steel, reaching to a height of 360 ft. above high watermark." Some of these steel tubes, I was told by the captain of the boat, were 12 feet in diameter, so that you could easily drive a carriage and pair through them. And yet, looking up from the boat—you can imagine the height of the bridge—the tubes appeared at the outside about a yard or two in circumference!

I am not going to give you all the statistics relating to the bridge, but it will interest you to know, if indeed you do not know it already, that the bridge was about seven years under construction, as many as 5,000 workmen having been employed at one time. A little more than a million sterling was paid in wages and salaries, and the workshops covered nearly 50 acres of ground. The bridge, as you probably know, was opened on the 4th of March 1890.

During our short stay of about an hour we saw several trains pass over the bridge, midway, as it were, between the earth and the sky. The train seemed more like a child's toy compared with the stupendous structure of the bridge, though it made a tremendous noise as it steamed slowly along the high rails. About 100 trains, I was told, pass daily over the new bridge. How the "featherless biped" flies swiftly in mid-air over a wide expanse of furious waters! What invisible wings (more powerful by far than the visible) doth lifeless steam arm us with! Knowledge, they say, is

power. But in no department of systematized human intelligence is this more true than in the practical application of the mechanical sciences.

Having seen the Forth Bridge, we hurry back to Edinburgh to dispose in the afternoon of the other item of our day's programme, the so-called International Exhibition. This is but a paltry affair compared with the magnificent *exposition* at Paris last year. We did not waste much time in lingering over the common exhibits, many of which I had seen half-a-dozen times in several exhibitions before. We went out of the exhibition building into the "grounds" to see the "Panorama picture of the battle of Trafalgar" and I need hardly say that we were fully repaid for our trouble. I longed to see a faithful realistic representation of the historic naval engagement associated with the heroic death of that invincible sea-lion Horatio Nelson.

The Nation's Fav'rite and his Sov'reign's pride,
He ruled despotic Lord of Ocean's tide!

And now a fair opportunity offered itself to have my curiosity satisfied.

I am sorry I have neither the time nor the ability to give you anything like a vivid description of what I saw represented in this grand panorama. A few lines will not, however, be out of place. On entering the Panorama building a flight of steps leads us to the top, where we at once come face to face with the fearful scene of a desperate naval battle all around us. We find ourselves standing on the aft part of Nelson's flag-ship *Victory* with 104 guns. Looking towards the bow we are immediately struck by a remarkable scene in the centre of the quarter-deck. Lord Nelson, mortally wounded by a musket shot fired from the French ship *Redoutable*, is being raised by a seaman. Captain Hardy, sword in hand, turns towards his chief (just leaning on his sword in a graceful posture) exclaiming "I hope your Lordship is not severely wounded". A sailor hastens up with a sheet of canvas on which to carry the Admiral down to the cockpit. Nelson has no sword; and in the centre of the

excited group of his faithful attendants seems half-asleep (so calm is the posture), as if dreaming of celestial bliss, and sweet repose, and immortal glory in those bright regions where happy spirits hold everlasting conclave.

This terrible scene was so unique in its expression of human weakness and human sympathy, of calm suffering and quiet, deep-rooted anxiety, as contrasted with its ferocious surroundings, that it riveted my attention, and in spite of myself I could not take my eyes off it for a time. I lingered over it, and a thousand confused thoughts crossed my mind. It bears the mark of a soul-stirring historic tragedy, essentially human in its consequences. It was the heroic end of a glorious life. There have been many similar snappings of the frail thread of human breath, before and since, but few of them have had such vast influence on the destiny of a large proportion of mankind.

We at last tear ourselves away from this deeply suggestive scene, and take a survey of the whole deck of the *Victory* and of other ships engaged in the terrible death-strife around us. The gunners are firing volley after volley into the port-holes and against the sides of the enemy's ships. The two contending fleets are enveloped in smoke ; the cannons pouring destruction on both sides ; the marksmen and the mariners, steeped in thoughts of blood, are revelling in the butcher's work ; scores of men, both young and old, have strewn the groaning decks with their wounded bodies. Man, turned into a ferocious fiend for the moment, glorifies in deliberately murdering his brother-man. The whole scene is one whirling madness. Fire and smoke, and blood ; insane excitement and furious strife, and murderous competition between two ships carrying hostile flags. The heavens are frowning above ; the meek earth has retreated to a safe corner ; the sea, lashed into indignation at the savage intrusion of man, is mad with fury.

Satisfied with the faithful picture of an awful scene, but disturbed, both mentally and morally, at its visible impression of the combative tendencies of human nature, Hakim Khan and I left the exhibition and came back to our lodgings

to rest for the night after a good day's work (if work it can be called) of sight-seeing.

Our programme for the next day was to see a few notable places in Edinburgh, and then go to Melrose and Abbotsford to see Scott's house. So we got up early in the morning, and began first with Edinburgh Castle. This is a massive structure of hard stone, its highest platform commanding a splendid panoramic view of the city, "laid as a map at our feet" with many a picturesque building glimmering under the sun. From this height we also see Leith and the wide watery expanse of the Firth of Forth, while to the left rise in misty grandeur the graceful Ben Ledi and Ben Lomond in the far distance. Beside us stands a gigantic old-fashioned cannon known as Mons Meg, dated 1486, and made by a village blacksmith by royal order. It is larger than our famous Bhangian-ki-Top that stands near the Lahore Museum. A man of my size could be easily shot through its ferocious mouth instead of a cannon-ball. The oldest part of the castle is a little place of worship known as St. Margaret's chapel. Queen Mary's Room is one of the attractions of the castle, on account of its historical associations which possess uncommon interest to Scotchmen. It was in this antique room that Mary gave birth to James VI (King James I of England) who was let down the precipice in a basket and conveyed to Stirling for safety.

The Scotch Regalia is displayed in the Crown Room, while in the same room you see the old-fashioned massive oak chest, in which the jewels had been stowed away for many years.

From the historic castle we pass through the High Street and Canongate (once so famous, now the "East End" of Edinburgh) until we reach the Palace and Abbey of Holyrood. The abbey is in ruins, but the Chapel Royal is associated with a few scenes of historical interest on which I need not dwell. The hoary Palace, with its dingy apartments, has been the scene of many a thrilling incident in Scotch history. It is especially associated with the sad memory of the beautiful but unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots. The Picture

Gallery, Lord Darnley's room and Mary's apartments are full of interest to the student and the antiquarian. Here we see Queen Mary's Red Chamber, Audience Chamber (where it is said she disputed with Knox), Supper Room, &c. One or two rooms are associated with tragic episodes to which I need not allude.

From the palace we retraced our steps through Canongate to John Knox's house, a place well worth visiting. The elderly lady in charge of the house showed us all over it, and related (with a delightful Scotch accent) the many incidents in the inflexible Knox's life connected with the various pictures and movable pieces of furniture. From this window Knox used to preach to his admiring congregation assembled below in the street, when on account of weather or some other cause he could not go to his church close by. This is the oak chair (300 years old) on which Knox used to sit with his writing desk before him. With becoming modesty and due deference to the great Reformer, I sat in this historic chair, and almost trembled at the contrast. Look at that bright figure, mountainous in its grandeur that from its empyrean height casts its ennobling glance at us, piercing through the mist of time; and now look at this puny creature, a mite among men, a cypher among figures, almost squatting like a toad in the great man's seat. I trembled at the contrast. I got up at once, pricked by a strange electric sensation. A good many incidents, stories and local scenes of living, moving and dying; and we bade a lingering farewell to the intrepid Scotch Reformer and his temporary abode.

Leaving Knox's house, we went down to Waverley station, and took the train to Melrose. About four miles from Melrose lies the picturesque Abbotsford, the country residence of the great Scott. This is a place full of Nature's delightful forms and hues, and scenic beauties. Above all, it is rich in historical associations of a superb character. In this happy place then we must linger for a while, and drink in all that it can yield of solitude and peace and joy, and soft repose.

3

A FEW IDEAS ABOUT ENGLAND

A lecture delivered at Lahore on 25-10-90. *(The Civil and Military Gazette,* November 6, 1890).—*Editorial Note :—*

MR. MUHAMMAD Shah Din, B.A., Barrister-at-Law, of the Baghbanpura family, who recently returned from England after a successful course of studies at Middle Temple, delivered an interesting lecture in the Lahore Town Hall on Saturday evening, 25th October. The subject of the lecture was "A few Ideas about England." The Hall was crowded with educated native gentlemen both Muhammadans and Hindus, there being also a few European gentlemen present. Mr. P. C. Chatterji was in the chair. The lecture lasted about an hour and a quarter and was highly appreciated by the audience. Mr. Shah Din said :—

"It is with considerable diffidence that I rise this evening to offer to you a few commonplace remarks on England and English life, and the many useful lessons we learn from a sojourn in that country. This is the first time I appear on a public platform before a large gathering of educated Indian gentlemen, and I hope, therefore, that you will be kind enough to extend to me that indulgence which persons in my position always receive at the hands of an intelligent public. When first the idea occurred to me of addressing an audience of my countrymen on a subject connected with England, I thought I could not do better than lay before you as concisely as possible some of my views based upon conclusions that I ventured to draw for myself from an experience of European life extending over a period of three years during my stay in England."

After these preliminary remarks the lecturer proceeded to consider the question : What is the object with which an increasingly large number of Indian gentlemen resort every

year to England? That object, he said, was obviously education; with the exception of a few Indians who go to England for purposes, say, of commerce. "Now what is education?" asked the lecturer. "Education in the widest acceptation of the term does not mean mere book-learning and passing examinations. It means in my view an harmonious development of the intellectual, moral and emotional nature of the man, such as would fit him most for the work of life, and make him a useful and active member of the community. Such harmonious development requires (in the case of an Indian student going to England) a careful study of England and its people—England of the past and England of to-day, comprising both the individual and the nation. One may begin with book-learning and passing public examinations, but one must not stop there."

In support of these views the lecturer briefly referred to the very instructive controversy that had been carried on some time ago in the pages of *The Nineteenth Century* under the title of "The Sacrifice of Education to Examinations". He considered it essential as the indispensable basis of complete education that young Indian students going to England must carefully study and analyse English manners, customs, modes of thought, and the inner home life of the people. The characteristics of the English nation could only be studied by an intelligent comparison with those of other nations and especially of the Indian races. To this end the Indian student must possess a well-developed faculty for the perception of the national virtues and failings of the English people. The necessity for such perceptive faculty is greater for the study of English institutions,—educational, social, political and religious. It is only by this means that an insight can be obtained into the whole active life both national and individual of the English people.

The lecturer then dealt with the subject under the four headings of England (1) Educational; (2) Social; (3) Political; and (4) Religious.

(1) Under the heading of "Education in England," he dwelt at some length on (a) Primary School education, (b) Higher

University education ; (c) Ancient Grammar Schools e.g. Eton, Harrow, Rugby.

Primary school education in England, said the lecturer, was mainly based upon the Act of 1870, which gave rise to English board schools and made primary education compulsory. In the Board school was imparted religious instruction along with secular teaching. This was a feature in which English Schools differed from Indian Public Schools. The Church of England had managed to introduce this denominational teaching, but of recent years a purely secular education movement had been set on foot and rigorously supported by large bodies of Dissenters and Free-thought societies in England. The so-called "conscience clause" had not worked to the satisfaction of lay people who had expected great things from it. The last London School Board Election had been a very instructive fight for the assumption of educational control and responsibility on the part of the secularly-disposed people. The older and younger generations in England did not neglect the education of the rising generation as the educated public did in this country. Primary education, again, was in England considerably more important than higher education. Young men passing out of schools did not take to public service. There was in England no such thing as a government service mania. All departments of commercial activity were filled by educated men ; only a compartively small minority took to learned professions guided by an intelligent choice. One consequence of primary education being considered more important than higher education was that the level of minimum popular knowledge and intelligence was being raised every year. Hence intellectual discrepancy and difference of social status had been and was being diminished between higher and lower classes. Higher education in England did not create that intellectual gulf between the cultured and the comparatively uneducated classes which existed in India. This was a great national advantage, for intellectual aristocracy was sometimes quite as bad as and perhaps worse than aristocracy based upon wealth.

Under the heading of "University Education" the lecturer dwelt with approval on English university life and the liberal social education which that life imparts to students, along with a requisite amount of book-knowledge. University students lived in England like members of the same family and were always kept in close contact with a refined social life. The mode of living at universities also inculcated lessons of self-help and self-reliance ; and was perhaps more akin to travelling in company with refined people. The object of university education was how to develop in the student the capacity to make full practical use of his knowledge. In the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge there were chapels connected with the different colleges. The students as a rule attended Divine Service at these chapels. Hence not only was a healthy control exercised over pupils by university tutors but also a certain religious education was mixed up with university teaching. This circumstance along with many other reasons perhaps accounted for the fact that in England college students were more liberal and less immoderate in their religious views than students in this country. There were in connection with English universities "Literary Unions" at which debates were conducted on Parliamentary principles. University life, then, in England was on the whole far better than college life here ; and the English graduate was an essentially practical, useful and active member of the community.

The lecturer then passed on to consider England from a social point of view, under the three headings of (1) English family life ; (2) the position of English women ; (3) Social distinction between higher and lower classes in England. English society, he said, was a complex organism not easy to analyse yet not so complex as the heterogeneous Indian people. A superficial observer of English society was apt to be misled in a great many ways ; and might form wrong notions of things. The danger was greater in the case of an Indian gentleman new to English social life, because of the vast difference that existed in this respect between England and India. Impartiality, and freedom from prejudice

in these cases, was as important a duty as it was difficult. A fair, unprejudiced mind on the part of a foreign observer was a necessity not to be ignored. Social institutions of a foreign nation could not be observed in their true light and bearing if seen through a distorted medium.

English family life was much simpler and hence far more productive of social happiness than Indian family life. This instructive contrast was due mainly to the social position of English woman which resulted principally from three things (1) right of choice in marriage (on the part of both husband and wife), (2) late marriages, (maternity in England did not begin before maturity as it did in this country), (3) freedom of action (within definite limits).

The separate family system in England gave a position of independence and moral power to the young wife. Children of love-marriages, it had been proved, were of a higher type than children of marriages of social convenience. Hence the physical, intellectual and moral superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race over the Indian people. In India child-betrothal and child marriage had worked to the deterioration of the race and acted as a barrier to popular progress. Their injurious effects——mental, moral and physical——on progeny were too well known to require any description.

The Indian joint family system as contrasted with the English family was far too complex to result in smooth-working, social convenience and happiness. It had originated in historical necessity. Its groundwork had been the patriarchal group of which the head was both the priest and the ruler, whose will was supreme. The family was everything, the individual nothing. The part was kept in strict subjection for the good, supposed or real, of the whole. The individual and the individual will had been merged completely in the family dictatorship of which the patriarchal head was the embodiment. The chief object to be gained had been mainly the organic life and unity of the people which was imperfectly attained, and people were frustrated, by making the family an indivisible unit, while the individual as such was entirely ignored. Hence healthy independence of character

in the individual had been wholly crushed ; and unquestioning submission to the dictates of family elders was glorified into not only a social but also a religious virtue. As this so-called virtue had begun to be exercised under the irresistible pressure of social and religious sanctions, the passion for authoritative control and arbitrary cæsarism in the family head had attained an abnormal development.

This clearly represented a lower state of social evolution. The period of moral stagnation in this country had preserved for us during a great many centuries Indian social traditions upon which family arrangements had been based. The times had changed and with them old models of social life should also be changed so as to adapt them to the requirement of the new era. An harmonious combination of a reasonable amount of respect for family elders and obedience to their will with individual freedom of thought and action, was the first condition of a well-balanced organic evolution of society.

If the spirit of the age, as embodied in our active environment, necessitated a readjustment of basic principles and institutions, the people must yield, or suffer the consequences that follow upon disobedience to the iron rule of progressive Time. The best social lesson, he had learnt in England, was that they must respect the individual man as the indispensable unit primarily of the family and ultimately of the nation. This sense of respect depended upon an appreciation of the truth that freedom is the law of life, individual and national.

Treating of the subject of the English women the lecturer said that they, in his view, presented a higher and nobler type of womanhood than the average Indian woman. Even a superficial observer of English life could not fail to discern in them a spontaneity, an independence and strength of character which make them a real moral power in society. They were no mere chattels nor made only to minister to the wants of man. Mere brute force as represented by the "stronger animal" man did not govern English social life. There was fair workable equality between man and woman. She exercised a refining ennobling influence on society and

was in the best sense of the term the educator of man. There was between husband and wife a communion of thought and an active sympathy that was lacking in India. They were cheerful fellow travellers on the thorny path of life. His soul spoke to her soul, and they traversed the whole diapason of human existence in wonderful harmony. The cultured woman, in England, descended like an angel into the world of men and lifted them up to her own higher level. Brute force in man had been supplanted by gentleness and peace and a noble respect for woman.

Speaking of the social distinction between the different classes, the lecturer said that the aristocracy in England resisted and resented social changes tending to equality between man and man. There was on their part little sympathy with the struggling people. But the recent upheaval of the masses was lessening the social monopolies of the hitherto privileged classes. The unemployed rich had been forced to pay heed to the clamours of the unemployed poor. Among the people, strictly so called, as contrasted with the well-to-do-classes there had sprung up a strong passion for change. The existing state of things did not satisfy them. Hence the many conflicts between capital and labour resulting in so many recent strikes. Popular education was also destroying privilege. The working-classes, their public organs, their Labour Members in Parliament were much stronger now than they had ever been before. The recent Labour movement resulting in Labour conferences all over Europe yielded many a useful social and political lesson. There had sprung up among the masses a keen sense of the rights and dignity of man.

Under the heading of "England considered from a political point of view," the lecturer dwelt upon the necessity of carefully studying the growth and development of the English constitution. Being unwritten and flexible it had been gradually built up in all its present complexity upon a simple foundation. The present Parliament had been developed from the unpretentious germ of the Anglo-Saxon Witenagemot and the Norman Great Council which had been more

or less elective assemblies. In modern times there was observable in England a deep respect for the constitution. In all departments of public life the law was supreme ; there was no such thing in England as a *droit administratif*. There were no official and privileged classes in the eye of the law. By the ingenious device of ministerial responsibility, the monarch had been deprived of the power to do wrong. The people elected Parliament, the Parliament enacted laws ; the law ruled over the people. This was the gist of the English political system. The franchise depended mainly on property qualifications with certain exceptions. There was as yet no universal suffrage, and women, though otherwise qualified, are excluded from the privilege of voting for members of Parliament. The recent struggle in favour of a woman's suffrage was very instructive. The great majority of even educated women in England were opposed to female suffrage. The controversy on this question as it took shape in the pages of *The Nineteenth Century* was full of many a fruitful lesson. The freedom of the English press had an interesting and instructive history and should be studied by those who guided the expression of public opinion.

Having omitted the subject of religious movements in England for want of time, the lecturer proceeded as follows :—

"England is a truly wonderful place. The ceaseless activity of the Western people presents a remarkably instructive contrast to the lifeless inertia of the East. The average intellectual temperature in England is much higher than in this country, and the least germ of intelligence in the dullest mind under such stimulating influences cannot but expand. There must, of course, be a living germ in the man capable of expansion if he wants to be benefited by a visit to England, for the dead do not feel and the blind cannot see. There are some souls which like palsied bodies have in them no motion. To such, a visit to England is worse than useless. But to such as are endowed by kind nature with average human capacity to appreciate the virtues of a nation, a few years' stay in England may do worlds of good. There is something in England which holds us spellbound, which

attracts and enchants the soul not only of the mere pleasure seeker but also of the scholar and the thinker. There is something in that far-off country which tells us of immeasurable depths of moral no less than intellectual forces that lie concealed like ocean-waves beneath this clay-exterior of ours. It is in England that we see and realize what man has done and what man can do. Throughout everyday practical life there pervades an atmosphere full of moral principles of high value. For you in this country it is a duty to be thankful to England for the good that she had done you, and if you criticise your rulers, which you have every right to do, do it with moderation. This is one of the best lessons I learnt in England,—the lesson that moderation is the handmaid of freedom." (Applause).

Mr. Muhammad Shah Din concluded his speech by a strong appeal to the Hindus and Muhammadans to unite among themselves and build a progressive nation upon the solid basis of perfect unity.

The lecture closed amid great applause from the audience. After a vote of thanks to the lecturer, proposed by Babu J. C. Bose, M.A., B.L., and seconded by Honorary Surgeon Khan Bahadur Rahim Khan, the meeting dispersed.

4

EXPERIENCES OF A PUNJABI MUHAMMADAN IN ENGLAND

SPECIAL LETTER

I*

YOU are probably aware that in July, last year, while I was in England, I took a short trip to Scotland with the object principally of seeing some specimens of the grand Highland scenery of which I had heard so much from my friends in London. Having been born and bred in an Indian village I had become inured from my childhood to the salubrious country air, and had even contracted a dread of the misty atmosphere that always surrounds town life. As a boy I had day after day watched the tiny bud grow into the full-blown beauty of the "red, red rose," and the fair pomegranate tree shoot forth a luxuriant foliage with a fair sprinkling of its matchless blossom looking like a display of fireworks to celebrate the birthday of Her Loveliness the Maiden Queen of Spring. I had often taken the vernal bower into confidence and broken long preserved silence in a loud familiar talk with the soft morning breeze.

London, with its murky days and nights, and the deafening noise of its busy life, is perhaps the last place in the world for spirits like mine to thrive in. Yet I had to pass my time in London ; for my main object in going to England was not to roam about in the green fields like a vagabond bee and study nature but rather to live the life of an earnest student in London,—to study both books and men. When I had, or thought I had, accomplished that object to an appreciable extent, then I grew tired of the English metropolis even more than before, and planned a brief "outing" into the country.

* This was published in *The Punjab Patriot*, dated January 26, 1891.

Scotland is a good recreation ground for those who love to see nature in her wild moods ; and as my mind had become saturated, as it were, with impressions made by man and his work, I thought I could not do better than spend a portion of the available time at my disposal in taking a trip to Edinburgh, famous for the rare beauty of its situation, and the picturesqueness of the country around. Only thus could I combine nature-worship with sight-seeing and pleasure. I spent not more than five days in the Northern capital, and even of this short period of time, I allotted very little to sight-seeing in town.

Highland scenery had a great attraction for me and my soul yearned for an acquaintance, however brief, with the heather-covered hills and the crystal lakes in which I had been told the Trossachs abounded. Each day I made a long, joyful excursion into the mountainous country, leaving Edinburgh a good distance behind, and felt the stimulating influence of the many novel sights and sounds that held my senses, and my soul spell-bound. I came, I saw,—I wish I could say, "I conquered." But being conquered by, is to conquer nature. I felt for the first time how invigorating both to body and mind is the playful stir of the strong mountain breeze full of the soft, melodious murmurings of the running springs. It was sweet to exchange unspoken words with silent lakes and valleys, and to be in the company of solitary crags. From the Trossachs and from Abbotsford I brought back with me impressions which will last for a lifetime, and to which in after years my wearied mind will revert with ever-increasing pleasure. On my return to London at the end of July, I embodied some of these impressions in three letters to my elder brother in which a certain uncontrollable emotion was the guide of my pen. These letters, through the kind interference of some of my friends, were at once dragged into the light and given to the world in the columns of *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore. A considerable portion of the reading public did me the honour of reading them through ; and a great many friends even went so far as to express a desire that these letters, consti-

tuting as they did only a fragmentary account of my rambling in Scotland, should be followed by a few more on the same lines embodying my impressions of the English Lake District and of North Wales, where I had spent rather more than a fortnight. I have, therefore, thought it desirable, in obedience to my friends' pressing solicitations, to contribute to your newspaper, *The Punjab Patriot*, three or four letters in continuation of those already published in *The Civil and Military Gazette* in September last. I shall, however, with your permission, address these letters to my brother, as it was to him that my previous letters had been written. By means of an artifice quite innocent in itself I hope to be able to satisfy a certain fastidious sense of symmetry, at least in one particular, so far as my complete account of a brief English trip is concerned ; and I have no doubt that you will not feel indisposed to allow me to indulge my fancy under the guise of a harmless fiction.

With these few preliminary remarks I take the liberty of commencing my fourth letter to my brother, giving a short account of my last two days in Edinburgh. I take for granted that the reader is familiar with the first three letters to which I have alluded above.

My dear Brother,

In my last letter to you written during my short stay at Battws-y-Coed in North Wales, under the inspiring influence of exquisite mountain scenery, I tried to give you a faint idea of what I had seen and enjoyed in my visit to Sir Walter Scott's house at Abbotsford, about 40 miles from Edinburgh. It was on a cloudy, drizzling afternoon that I, in company with my frontier fellow tourist Hakim Khan, got down from the train at Melrose and pushed on through thick and thin to Scott's picturesque residence, hid from our view under the sheltering canopy of a grove of tall trees such as gods love to dwell in not far from the grass-covered banks of the slow moving, silvery Tweed. I told you all about our venturesome journeying on foot, how we lost our way through the

light-proof woods and how we found it again, being guided by a little angel-girl, about nine years old, with a sweet voice that seemed to partake of the music of the spheres. It was a day that from the matchless beauty of the surroundings, lent a peculiar lustre to the clouds above and the woods below. The sun had, no doubt, withdrawn the aid of his cheerful ray, but the brooding calm of misty hills and the voicelessness of nature all round, varied by the soft bleatings of the scattered sheep, wafted through the light air, breathed an unknown peace through one's mind and soul. It was a befitting day for a visit to Scott's house to pay humble homage to the poetical genius of a departed "Great." But I must not now indulge in these musings, however delicious to minds of a certain order, lest I should be accused of repeating a twice-told tale. It may be that there is oftentimes no small difficulty in peremptorily banishing from our minds ideas long since cherished, and associated with a day and an hour that will live and thrive in our memory for perhaps a life-time. It may be that such ideas grow in our affections like so many children of the brain, and distance of time and place renders their banishment less easy.

But one has to yield sometimes to the cruel criteria that even sensible individuals, but more often the senseless multitude, are too ready to apply. In obedience, therefore, to this implied dissent from my essentially unpractical habit of touching upon things of fancy, in their nature almost intangible, I shall leave the poet and the poet's habitation, and go back to Edinburgh to see and handle things proper for the goodly people of this busy world.

But I must not forget to tell you that I visited Scott's place on Saturday, and the next day being the Sabbath, the seventh day of the week on which even the Lord rested, I must with your permission (or even without it, for in pious Scotland the observance of the Sabbath has decided preference over factitious rules of courtesy) cease writing any more about what I saw and did on Sunday in Edinburgh.

II*

My dear Brother,

I am afraid I concluded my last letter to you rather abruptly, but not altogether, I hope, without sufficient reason for doing so. I recapitulated briefly some points of interest connected with my ramblings at Abbotsford and Melrose on Saturday afternoon, and I thought I should follow the good example of the devout Scotch, so far as the observance of the Sabbath is concerned by omitting to give you an account of my doings on the following Sunday. Further reflection, however, has induced me to change my mind ; and I think I may as well tell you what I did and saw on a day when the majority of the pious people around me were either singing psalms in the churches or peacefully snoozing on a drawing-room sofa.

I got up rather late in the morning on Sunday, but early enough, as it afterwards appeared, to catch two of my Indian friends asleep. We cast about for a device to keep ourselves occupied after breakfast, as we were too much of sceptics to approve of going to church to hear Presbyterian clergymen preach. A Hyderabad friend of ours, who happened to have a great taste for amateur photography, undertook to take Hakim Khan and me in a group if we would sit for it. We cheerfully consented to the proposal, though doubtful as to the validity of our proceedings from an orthodox Scotch point of view. The sun very courteously declined to assist us in carrying out our plan, conceived in a spirit of hostility to the prevailing religious tone of the people ; and the result, therefore, was a rather pretty caricature in which Khan appeared like a thoughtful Diogenes, the Cynic, just crept out of his tub, by whose side I was standing like Alexander of old, asking the great philosopher if I could be of any service to him, and receiving in return the curt, cold reply : "Pray do not stand between me and the sun." Thus baffled in our first attempt to offend against

* *The Punjab Patriot*, February 23, 1891.

the Scotch rules of Sunday propriety, we went for a quiet stroll in the Queen Street Gardens. I suppose you know, or at any rate you ought to know, that the Queen Street of Edinburgh is one of the finest streets in Europe. It is a wide and magnificent thoroughfare, lined for about a mile and a quarter by beautiful shops, hotels, restaurants and other graceful modern buildings all ranged on one side; while on the other side the principal portion of the street is bounded along its length by what was once the valley of the North Loch but is now laid out in beautiful grass plots and ornamental flower-beds that attract the eye and, by their attractiveness, console the wearied mind. It is in this spot that the green and rosy offspring of the mother earth grow and flourish side by side with the pale and city-festered children of man. It here that we realize at one glance what an indescribable charm the close proximity of a piece of grass-grown land lends to a fashionable street in the heart of a great city. One cannot help wishing in a place like this, after observing the healthy contrast between the feverish excitement and life-competition of weak, suffering humanity on the one hand, and the calm, careless, confident appearance and growth of the joyful flowers and grass on the other,—one cannot help wishing that it was within man's power now and then "to shuffle off this mortal coil," and, as a metamorphosed being, claim "liberty, equality and fraternity" with the narcissus, the daisy, or the happy band of the lilies of the field "that toil not, neither do they spin." But this unbounded bliss is not and cannot be the portion of man. We are meant for a serious trial; and it is chiefly in our capacity to suffer without utterly breaking down that lies our peculiar strength. But enough of this. The Queen Street Gardens must not be made the starting point for an erratic homily on the woes of humanity, savouring of the morbid pessimism of a certain dyspeptic German school.

The general situation and appearance of the Queen Street are of rare beauty, and all the large shops are arranged after the best English style. The graceful monument erected to the sacred memory of Scott towers aloft with its fine Gothic

outlines, taking a survey, as it were, of the city he loved so well. By the side of the poet sits his faithful dog on whom, as we know, he used to lavish so much affection. Not far from this noble memorial are several fine statues, chief of which are those of Professor Wilson and Dr. Livingstone, the great African traveller. Along with these I may also mention the fine equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington facing the Register House, which, though dark and dingy, presents in a good light the chiselled features of the world-famous Waterloo hero.

Leaving the Scott Memorial behind, we walked on to Waterloo Place from which we ascended to Cotton Hill, and from the top had a very enjoyable view of the city below. We kept at a respectful distance from the Nelson monument, as we knew we could not get admittance on a Sunday to see the antique relics of the great naval hero. Passing on through dirty lanes and blind alleys (for Edinburgh, though credited with possessing wide, open streets, has its own share of human squalor) we reached the foot of the well-known hills called "Arthur's Seat" and "Salisbury Crags" with an elevation of about 822 feet and 700 feet respectively above the level of the sea. Round these hills runs the beautiful promenade known as the Queen's Drive, and close by are the Queen's Park and the once famous Holyrood Palace associated with the sad memory of the beautiful but unfortunate Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. Having made up our minds for a good strong dose of physical exercise, Hakim Khan and I (for our other companions proved to be rather weak-kneed) began to ascend the towering but tempting heights of Arthur's seat by a footpath which appeared to be well trodden. In this enterprise, if such it may be called, Khan had a slight advantage over me, as he had been accustomed from his early years to climb difficult heights on frontier hills at home. I, however, stuck to it, though, to tell the truth, at some intervals where the path winding upwards seemed to be too steep for a firm foothold, I half trembled with doubt as to my ability to carry out my resolution. I scrambled on as best I could, catching hold in

moments of anxiety of a frail tuft of grass. At last I did reach the summit, and stood triumphantly on the topmost rock to see all Edinburgh and (with becoming modesty I say it) to be seen by all. The wind was very strong and it was quite a task to withstand it. But in the face of the malignant opposition of this annoying element, I consulted my own convenience in all respects, and indignantly refused to be treated like a veering weathercock, until I thought I had mastered pretty well the situation of the city that lay beneath my feet like a map in relief. The clouds had now dispersed, and the sun shot his cheerful rays through the blue depths of clear air, touching with crimson light the fading sails out at sea. I was now standing on the Lion Head at a height of rather more than 700 feet above the level of the surrounding country. On the one hand I could command a magnificent view of the Firth of Forth, whose bright azure waters offered a striking contrast to the misty appearance of the distant hills on the north-western side; and on the other, there lay stretched before me for miles upon miles a variegated panorama of town and country unsurpassed by anything I had yet seen. The setting sun was shedding a flood of golden light on meditative Edinburgh lying in deep repose, and looking round for the moment one could see the University towers and church steeples gleam in the far distance with a mellow, autumnal tint. A strange sensation of self-elevating, soul-stirring joy crept along my veins; and I could not for a few minutes hold in check a genial current of spontaneous thought that flowed smoothly along unstemmed by every effort of conscious will. Such "self-drowning" of spirit and soul, superinduced upon prosaic human existence by scenes of unusual beauty, is indeed a rare luxury, akin perhaps in its nature to that mysterious psychological condition of the mind under which we sometimes seem to be floating about midway between earth and sky. These undefined ideas, however, soon faded away, like the intangible links of a midnight dream; and I was roused to the hard consciousness of a work-a-day world by the loud ringing of an unceremonious church bell in the city below,

telling all poor mortals that the night was about to fall. We wended our way downwards, resting for a while on a soft stretch of green grass in a spacious hollow on the hill side sloping towards the sea. A cool, refreshing draught from a natural spring that flowed hard by, was the last delightful addition to our long roll of enjoyments on the only Sunday I passed in picturesque "Edina, Scotia's darling seat." With this, therefore, I must conclude this rigmarole of a letter, reserving for the next occasion a brief account of my visit to Roslin Castle and my aimless wanderings in the Hawthorn Glen.

III*

My dear Brother,

In my last letter I told you, in my own slipshod way, how I had spent my first and last Sunday in Edinburgh, and concluded by promising to give you later on a brief account of my visit to Roslin Castle and Glen on the following Monday. My reminiscences of a Scotch Sunday afternoon, however, will be incomplete without a passing allusion to a rather interesting theological wrangle between two opposing church factions that took the form of an imposing religious demonstration. As my companion and I lay stretched at full length on the green sward in the sloping hollow on the north-eastern side of Arthur's seat, we heard repeated echoes of a chorus of shouting voices coming we could not for the moment guess from what direction. Each time the strange echo began with a faint murmuring sound, until by degrees it attained the sonorous swell of a mighty roar of waters; then gradually it faded away with the growing silence of quiet eve. It seemed as if a battle had been raging among the gods up in the air on the cloud-capped summits

* *The Punjab Patriot*, dated March 2, 1891.

of an invisible Olympus, or between two contending factions of jealous Nereids out on the dim distant sea. The murmuring echo, as it recurred at short intervals, exerted on our minds a peculiarly attractive spell. We got up and made for the direction from which the confused voice seemed to come, expecting to find the reality on near approach at least as pleasing as the impressions it had from a distance made upon our charmed senses. But lo! in place of what our lively imaginations had "bodied forth" and invested with all the bright colours of a something sweet in thought, and still sweeter when realized, we had in store for us a demonstration got up through the mistaken zeal of an ambitious and "unpruned theology" that "O'erleaps itself, and falls on the other." The strange sight put me in mind of certain socialist meetings in London at which I had learned for the first time how very instructive it was to watch from a safe distance the antic gesticulations of a low-class English crowd when seized with a paroxysm of political insanity. The gathering of our Scotch friends, however objectionable in other respects, had at least one great virtue: it was the best illustration of what may be called picturesque confusion. The battle was probably over, a few of the prominent fanatics having been arrested by the ungenerous police (who seem to have no religious scruples or thoughts of the next world even on a Sunday); but the rank and file of the faithful adherents of what they conceived to be the most sacred cause on earth continued in right earnest to call down bitter imprecations on their opponents who had traitorously betrayed the solemn trust reposed in them by the National Church Party. The worship of the Church of Scotland sought to be revolutionized (the last alarming word in rather big letters)—a new Liturgy sought to be imposed, this was the fierce battle cry of the pious Church party, who like the good old *mukti fauj* seemed to believe in their heart of hearts that they, and none else, commanded, as religious sentinels armed with absolute power, the narrow entrance to Salvation in the world to come. This outburst of theological passion (it can hardly be called religious) resulted as usual in many a

broken head and bruised shoulder. Some aching back, quite innocent so far as it was concerned, must no doubt have scolded in feeling terms the overzealous heart and indiscreet tongue that in moments of sore trial could not, from inherent cowardice, face the resistless conclusions of the fearful club-logic that was wielded with such effect by the unjust enemy. My heart was moved with deep sympathy when I thought of innocent backs like these; but such sympathies are perhaps useless, as it seems to have been ordained that in the Government of mundane affairs members of the same body, indissolubly associated with one another, should severally bear the inevitable with becoming resignation, and without claiming contribution ratably or otherwise from the other clay companions that happen to be really in fault. This is a hard law indeed, but so it has been enacted; and no aching backs must grumble.

But what am I driving at! I catch myself as in a reverie, and find that I have indulged in an unpardonable digression. I take up again the feeble threads of fading experience, and in my fancy slowly travel along the lengthening chain of pleasing recollections of things past, until I find myself once more in Edinburgh. But the rich colours of a sunny Sunday afternoon have now been transformed into the soothing dark gray tints of advancing twilight, gradually deepening into the shades of night that hold half the world under their choking sway. I retire into the peaceful silence of my snug bed-chamber, and am

> "As fast locked up in sleep, as guiltless labour
> When it lies starkly in the travellers' bones."

The bright Monday morning finds me as hale and hearty as ever; but I had to part company with my fellow-tourist Khan, whom Mr. Macaulay, an old friend of his father's at Dera, had invited to stop with him for a few days at Ayr, a picturesque country place on the west coast of Scotland, and associated with the name and fame of Robert Burns, the "peasant poet", who lived only to love and ended by making a moral wreck of his noble soul. So my friend departed and I was left alone; but being inured to solitude

I made up my mind thoroughly to enjoy my loneliness. I spent the first two hours of the morning in going all over the New Royal Infirmary, a noble institution admirably managed, and an enduring monument of the munificence and the active sympathy of the good people of Edinburgh for the pangs of suffering humanity. I paid a flying visit to the Edinburgh University, and then took the train for the village of Roslin to see the castle and the Glen. We passed through a nice, open part of the country, rather flat compared with the other hilly environs of the town. There was, however, a wholesome change of air and scene, and my heart throbbed with a new-born joy at the sight of blithe little songsters on wing. It did not take us long to reach Roslin, and the first thing I did was to visit the well known chapel before going on to see the Glen. There is a pretty little graveyard in connection with the chapel, which recalled to my mind many a solemn lesson that the perishable remains of frail humanity never fail to impress on the thinking mind.

From the "city of the silent" (to use the poetic Persian phrase) I turned to the living country, where the attentive ear can hear the heart of Nature beat. I was in the midst of a most enjoyable solitude, and yet it was

"A populous solitude of bees and birds,
And fairy formed and many colored things,"—
A solitude where man is never alone.

The Roslin Glen seems to be designed by kindly Nature for men who have cultivated habits of retirement, and learnt to live within the shell of their own thoughts, unmindful of the pains and pleasures of their struggling race. It is a glorious combination of rock and water and foliage,—a place where gay and wearied spirits may seek and find excitement or repose. Here the wandering Eske cleaves his way and threads his devious course, between rocky heights that stand at a distance face to face sadly gazing upon each other, like two lovers, once united soul to soul, between whom there runs a current of unpleasant feeling, and the fairest hope of reconciliation has vanished for ever. Here the sad and lonely wanderer may learn to be cheerful by treating

the noisy world of men with well-merited contempt, and form a lasting friendship with the playful brook that runs his genial race, laughing man and man's woes to scorn. Here the mad lover may pour his sorrows into inattentive ears ; here the philosopher may think, and the poet may muse.

An aimless rambler in a place like this may study in an hour more than the city book-worms will in a year,—study not other things and men, but his own inner self.

But I am again digressing. I must snatch myself away from this train of thoughts, however congenial to me, to cast one last glance at the fair Roslin Glen, a charming specimen of the superb handiwork of Nature. I would fain dwell on subjects like these but it is now time to bid adieu to sweet "Edina" in the words of the poet :—

Farewell, Edinburgh, and a' your daughters fair,
Your palace in the sheltered glen, your castle in the air,
Your rocky brow, your grassy knowes, and eke your mountain hold,
Were I to tell your beauties a', my tale would ne'er be told".

Yours affectionately,
M. Shah Din.

5

"THE MONEY-LENDER AND THE ZAMINDAR"*

I lately read an interesting and suggestive leader headed "Money-lender and Zamindar" in *The Civil and Military Gazette* of the 15th ultimo. The question therein discussed is one of great importance not only to the comparatively few practitioners who may be said to be initiated into the mysteries of law, but also, and perhaps in a much more emphatic sense, to a considerable portion of the agricultural and money-lending classes in this Province, as it materially affects the varied interests of the latter.

With reference to the Chief Court Ruling in No. 110 of 1879 and No. 32 of 1890, the question may well be asked : What is the exact nature of the contractual relations between the zamindar and the money-lender ? If the zamindar enters into a bad bargain with the village *Sahukar*, is the Court competent to presume, as a proposition of law, that undue influence has been exercised by the money-lender over the zamindar, so as to conclude a contract in which the latter cannot be said to be a truly free agent ? In other words is the ordinary relation subsisting between these parties clothed with a fiduciary character, such as would justify a Court of Justice in presuming, apart from the facts of a particular case, that the money-lender stood in a position of confidence towards the zamindar or held real or apparent authority over the latter within the meaning of section 16 clause 1 of the Contract Act, so as to throw the onus of the good faith of the transaction on the money-lender ? The ruling of Smyth, J. in No. 110 of 1879 seems to answer this question in the affirmative ; but it appears to be based upon the

* *The Punjab Patriot*, dated February 2, 1891.

consideration of a very important circumstance, existing in a numerous class of such cases, namely, that the relation between the parties was not merely that of debtor and creditor but that they had stood in this relation for a considerable period before the transaction in question, thus placing the professional money-lender in a position favourable to the exercise of a certain tangible dominion over the hard-pressed zamindar—a position approaching, in some of its incidents, and so far as the holding of an appreciable amount of authority by one party over the other is concerned very near the relation subsisting in this part of the country between landlord and tenant. I may here parenthetically remark that in most parts of the Punjab, the village money-lender, as a matter of fact, calls his zamindar-debtors his *Asami*, a term used to denote a tenant in Punjabi. Apart, however, from this circumstance and irrespective of the particular facts of a case, the decisions in No. 110 of 1879 and 32 of 1890 do not justify a Court in making any legal presumption against the creditor on the strength of the bare fact that the parties are a money-lender and a zamindar, inasmuch as the tenancy or the temporary character of the relation between them would not be sufficient to place the former in a position of confidence or authority towards the latter. In ordinary cases where a debtor enters into improvident bargains with his creditor, the Court cannot assist him in evading the consequences of his own folly. But under certain circumstances, not very rare in the Punjab, the simple fact of the parties being a village money-lender and a zamindar (giving rise to a quasi-fiduciary relation) may justify a Court in presuming, in the words of Mr. Justice Plowden, in No. 110 of 1879, "that the zamindar did not give a free consent to the terms of the particular agreement, when such presumption is not inconsistent with the other facts disclosed, though there may be no other evidence on the part of the zamindar to prove that he had been induced by the exercise of undue influence to consent to the agreement." In such cases, then, the onus of proving the good faith of the transaction would clearly lie on the

money-lender ; and it cannot be denied, I think, that a large proportion of suits between money-lenders and zamindars, so far at least as the rural population in this province is concerned, are of a nature that requires the application of this principle. Apart from this, the question as to the burden of proof in such cases depends for its determination upon the settlement, with reference to the particular facts of each case, of the prior question as to the exercise, as a matter of fact, of undue influence by the money-lender over the zamindar, regarding which no definite proposition of law has been laid down by the Chief Court applicable to all cases. The ruling of Smyth, J. in No. 110 of 1879 may be too wide as a legal proposition, but it is difficult to deny that Mr. Justice Smyth was right in trying to give the protection of the Courts to the illiterate, downtrodden agriculturists in our villages who from poverty, ignorance, and habits of submission are obliged to repose confidence in the astute *Sahukar*, who under cover of paternal kindness to them, does not scruple to drive unconscionable bargains, and then in due time when the original debt has increased tenfold, coolly sets the machinery of law into motion to crush his debtors, insisting with the heartlessness of a Shylock on the terms of his bond.

It is a pity that in cases like these the Chief Court Judges have shown an indisposition to avail themselves of the equitable powers that have been so beneficially exercised by the Allahabad High Court "to grant relief in cases of such grossly oppressive bargains as, from their nature and the mutual relation of the parties, raise a presumption of fraud or undue influence."

It is to be hoped that when the point comes to be further considered, the Chief Court may incline to the opinion that mutual dealings between the professional money-lender and the zamindar extending over a considerable period, may give rise to a presumption of law in favour of the latter, as in such cases actual experience warrants us in assuming the existence of a quasi-fiduciary relation between the parties concerned, very similar to that subsisting between solicitor

and client, medical adviser and patient etc. At any rate, it seems to be hardly just and equitable that the poor, unlettered agriculturist, sorely in need of money sufficient to pay revenue to the Government or to meet his legitimate household and farm expenses, should in most cases be left to the tender mercies of the grasping and unscrupulous village money-lender.

6

"HOME-CLASSES FOR PURDAH LADIES"*

I—PRELIMINARY

I propose in this article to say a few words by way of introduction to the consideration of a question of great social importance that seems to me to be fairly ripe for discussion in this part of the country, and on the right solution of which depends, in a great measure, the future moral and intellectual progress of the well-to-do classes in the Punjab.

Of late years the public mind in India has been, and is being, greatly exercised on the vexed question of infant marriage and enforced widowhood, and much has been said and written as to the best practical means of uprooting these gigantic evils either by concerted private action or by calling in the extraneous aid of the Indian legislature. Honest and earnest discussions on matters of such deep significance, touching, as they do, along some well-defined lines, the very nerve centres of a peculiarly sensitive social organism, are likely to provoke bitter opposition ; and it is no wonder that in good many instances the motives of reform have been called in question by men who otherwise are fairly entitled to be considered as perfectly sensible people.

A great deal of good has been done by some of the social reformers who, throughout fierce conflicts with time-honoured prejudices of society, have had the courage of their convictions ; and have reiterated with vigorous insistence the benefits of a healthy social change in conformity with the progressive spirit of the time. Their utterances, merely

* *The Punjab Patriot*, dated April 6, 1891.

as such, have at least rendered the custom-ridden people of this country (such terribly devout worshippers of well-established usage) a little more tolerant of a distinct departure on the part of some of their countrymen from their own orthodox notions of social propriety,—a tolerance which, taken by itself, points to a visible relaxation of the fibre of social prejudice in the public mind which always binds a people to ancestral institutions as with the strength of an iron chain. This in itself is a great element of gain to the side of solid reform. But in saying this much I have said perhaps all that the majority of our young reformers (and their name is not legion) may be justly credited with having done. While conceding the great advantage of long social sermons of an epistolary character to an ignorant people, conservative by instinct and by tradition, one may very rightly doubt the wisdom of drawing a sharp line between word and action, and carefully abstaining from overstepping the bounds of speed, lest the preacher should be tempted to practise what he inculcates upon others to do. And this is exactly what we, the easy-going, self-elevated band of lip-reformers, are doing. I say we, because in a matter of social importance I cannot reasonably draw a distinction between one educated Indian and another. The truth seems to be that in the midst of political excitement engendered by convening "mass meetings" against this or that measure of the Government, we have developed an abnormal capacity, inevitable and useful perhaps in some stages of popular progress, for glib talk, and, along with it, a peculiar reluctance for going beyond it, so as to embody a fine word in a fine action. So far the fashionable political uproar of to-day has drowned the feeble voice of the reformer for earnest social reform. The steady improvement of the political condition of our country is a thing by no means undesirable, and we must certainly press forward so as to reach in the fulness of time the appointed goal. But there is a point at which a healthy aspiration of the popular mind, nursed in the lap of an inborn sentiment of human dignity and progress,

ceases to be a desire that the sober heart must worship, and degenerates into a sickly passion for what it knows it cannot have.

We may with perfect freedom strain our eyes in looking fondly for the first grand Indian House of Representatives yet hid in the womb of futurity ; and we may even actively exert ourselves to obtain the requisite political training preparatory to such consummation so "devoutly to be wished." But like sensible people let us take particular care that we do not allow politics, however tempting this art may be, to obscure the great issues which, from a social point of view, have such a terribly real bearing on the moral, mental and material progress of our country. The amount of attention that we can justly give to social or political institutions working in our midst must, at least under the existing conditions of Indian society, be commensurate with the comparative fitness of either the one or the other for the people as a whole, with special reference to the change of environment visible on all sides. We cannot safely permit temporary or local circumstances, even of a public character, to influence our minds so far as to absorb the whole of our disposable energies in the consideration of one set of questions, leaving us nothing wherewith to work at home, with the untiring perseverance of a Hercules, to cleanse the Augean stables. The inevitable consequence of an unchecked tendency in the public mind in this direction would be a one-sided and abnormal development of popular passion for public movements of a sensational character that do not touch our hearth or home but go a great way to bring us into visible conflict with the responsible administrators of the country. The day I hope will never come when we in this part of the country may have reason to welcome a contingency of this kind, so as to feed fat any sentimental grudge against those whom we are bound, under normal conditions of society, to assist in the efficient discharge of public functions. The educated classes in the Punjab have doubtless shown a just indisposition to take a morbid interest in a passing political mania, but it is not yet clear how far

they are prepared to grapple with social problems which, from their magnitude and inherent difficulties, demand more than leisure, time and individual attention. On the Bombay side vigorous appeals on matters social to the common-sense and humanity of our countrymen have at least elicited a clear, verbal response; and we too in up-country have not altogether kept an indiscreet silence. But we have assuredly stopped short of setting on foot a vigorous and well-organised movement for raising the status of our women.

The educated people in this Province have of late been tempted to ask themselves, not in a faltering voice but in clear, unmistakeable tones: Are we fit for improved political institutions?—and not a few among them may have answered this great question in the affirmative. But how many of us have asked ourselves in all seriousness and on careful reflection:—Are our existing social institutions fit for us? How many, I ask, have put this solemn question to themselves, being firmly resolved to wage a conscientious war against the inevitable negative? A reform of public administrations is a great desideratum which we must not ignore, but a reform of the household is at least equally imperative. A man ought to be a really good husband and a truly kind father before he can claim to be a good citizen. Capacity to educate and bring up a well-regulated family may not be the *sine qua non* for the possession and due discharge of civic rights and duties, but it at least carries with it a mature sense of responsibility for organic control, so necessary for all beneficial exercise of power, affecting any very large classes of people. Besides, family being the basal group and most durable element in the constitution of a nation, all true patriotism must aim at reforming it so as to place it on a level with the rapid march of ideas in all departments of healthy human activity. And this result cannot be achieved save by an unreserved recognition of the true dignity and high functions of woman, the presiding genius of a household, round whom, as a central sun, revolves the little world of a happy family.

I have thought it desirable to make these lengthy remarks on the necessity of social reform in direct relation to the present position of our women, because of late there has been a growing tendency on the part of an educated section of the public to minimise its comparative importance and to throw it into the shade by giving undue prominence, having regard to the relative consistency of popular opinion, to what is commonly known as the political regeneration of this country. It seems to me that the time has at last come when a serious attempt ought to be made by men of light and learning among us to demand an equitable division of public attention in relation to the various political and social problems affecting in different degrees the future welfare of large classes of the Indian community. It would be a disastrous mistake to allow any one set of these problems to monopolize the organic expression of enlightened opinion, to repudiate the just claims to equal consideration of the other. It is with the main object of presenting this view of the matter to the educated public of the Punjab that I have taken the liberty to lengthen these preliminary remarks, until this article may justly appear to some of the readers to have been written simply for the sake of writing. In my next article I hope to be able to make a few suggestions as to the best means of organizing home classes for the education of native ladies in the Punjab.

II*

"The sphere and destiny of woman are among the three or four foremost questions of social improvement."—John Morley.

In my introductory article on the above subject I took occasion to invite the attention of my educated Punjabee

* *The Punjab Patriot*, dated April 27, 1891.

friends to the imperative necessity for social reform in general, with reference to the existing condition of our women as compared with the need of forced growth of a so-called popular demand for what is nowadays commonly known as the political regeneration of our country. I thought it my duty to press on the educated public this view of the matter at the risk of sacrificing brevity, as I firmly believe that intelligent people in this Province can ill-afford to devote their whole time and energy to the exclusive consideration of exciting political questions, some of them as yet scarcely ripe for solution, while day by day their home difficulties are thickening on all sides, and the unsatisfactory character of the domestic relations between the two sexes in the higher strata of native society is bringing to the surface numerous evils, that, if not checked in time, will soon be visible in an aggravated form. I need scarcely tell the thoughtful Punjabees that the only remedy for these great and growing evils lies in our own hands. It will hardly be contested, at least by those who, laying aside inherited prejudice for the moment, have at all reflected over the matter, that a well-organized system of female education devised with special reference to the peculiar needs and environments of our high class women, is one of the best practical means of helping forward the cause of solid progress, intellectual, moral and material, among the well-to-do classes of this country. That this principle has been fully recognised and carried into practice by good and earnest men in different parts of India, and that an appreciable improvement in the relations of the sexes is on the point of being achieved in consequence of such noteworthy efforts, is cause for thankful self-congratulation. But what has been done of late years in this direction is assuredly very little compared with what social necessity requires, and what therefore it is our highest moral duty to do. We in the Punjab have not only stopped short of inaugurating a movement for imparting systematic instruction to our girls in accordance with the growing needs of the country, but, as bitter experience tells us, there exists even at this day a

strong disinclination, bordering almost on irrepressible fanaticism, against allowing the claims of woman to be recognised as a rational being possessed of rights and privileges and to be classed, from this high standpoint, in the same category with man. For much of this barbarous view of the sexual relationship still dominant in the Oriental mind our ignorant, selfish and heartless priesthood is no doubt responsible. But now that the light of improved Western ideas has broken in upon us, and the rising generation of our young men has thought it allowable, when imperious reason demands it, to pluck the beard of uncompromising religious authority, it may not be too much to ask that sensible men amongst us should not be permitted in practice to treat woman as a beautiful plaything or a piece of property without at once losing caste with the advanced section of the educated party. Nothing can be more deeply humiliating to a thoughtful person than to know that men of culture and intelligence in our society, whose general breadth of views and well-balanced judgment entitle their opinions to our respect, scarcely deem it derogatory to their true dignity to assign to woman both in theory and in practice a position least consistent with our ideas of the nobility of human nature. They never seem to have thought for a serious moment that our prevailing notions about womankind are but the barbarous relics of an age of brute force and vandalism that in a great many directions we have already outgrown. The country cannot possibly arrive at a stage of true and lasting civilisation until we radically reform our popular ideas about the sphere and destiny of the weaker sex, and labour to place our women on a moral and social elevation from which they can exercise a widespread, refining influence on society. It has been well said that the position of woman in any country is the surest test of its civilisation. "When we are seeking," says Mr. Gladstone, "to ascertain the measure of that conception which any given race has formed of our nature, there is perhaps no single test so effective as the position which it assigns to woman. For, as the law of force is the law of the brute

creation, so in proportion as he is under the yoke of that law, does man approximate to the brute, and in proportion, on the other hand, as he has escaped from its dominion, is he ascending into the higher sphere of being, and claiming relationship with the Deity."

I should scarcely have thought it allowable to make these general remarks and to support them by the above lucid quotation from a great thinker, if I had not felt rather keenly, under the necessities of the case, the imperative need of prefacing my suggestions concerning the education of our high-class women by a mild condemnation of the orthodox theory that relegates a delicate and refined being to a position in all respects very much inferior to that of the stronger animal, self-elevated man. My main object has been so far to stir up the disciplined imagination of the more thoughtful among my readers and to enlist their active sympathies in the cause, as sacred as any upon earth, that I have ventured to advocate. I ask for individual and public attention to be directed to a question which promises under favourable auspices to be fruitful of really good results. Above all, I invite every educated Punjabee who takes an intelligent interest in the matter to come forward with new suggestions or with honest criticism of those already made, so as to canvass the question thoroughly in direct relation to the moral and intellectual needs of our province.

The practical question that I propose to discuss in this article is not whether female education is socially needful, but whether, admitting its necessity, we can create a healthy demand for it by taking certain steps for its promotion among the higher classes of our town-population. We may take it for granted as an indisputable fact that two of our social institutions which have during past centuries had a strong hold over the public mind in India, tend directly, among other things, to keep our womenfolk substantially in the same position, as to mental development, which they occupied in ages of darkness and superstition. These are (1) child-marriage and (2) the seclusion of women. They may have been extremely useful institutions in their own day,

and may even now have the effect of keeping Indian society in steady equilibrium and a compact form. With their beneficial results, if any, under past or existing social conditions, I have at present nothing to do. The fact remains that their scrupulous observance does materially interfere with the inalienable right of our women to be educated and to have their powers—mental and moral—fully developed, so that by their healthy exercise they may be able to enter into the best intellectual comradeship with man. For my present purpose, this right having been conceded, I shall refrain from asking for even the gradual removal of these institutions, which the country, as a whole, may or may not be prepared to give up or to reform. But it becomes all the more necessary to insist that little girls whom child-marriage tends to remove early from the school, and purdah ladies who are not allowed to go outside the *zenana* to attend educational institutions, should be given an opportunity of cultivating their minds and laying in a stock of knowledge, however elementary, that may prove to them of real value in the serious struggles of after-life. And since the customs of child-marriage and the seclusion of women prevail most widely among the higher classes, both Hindus and Muhammadans, in our large towns, I believe nothing would tend more speedily and directly to improve the social status of our *zenana* women than to initiate a movement for the organisation of home-classes for their education. With this end in view, and for the better discussion of the general outlines of my proposal, I submit the following points for consideration.

(1) The real object is to provide at least elementary education for purdah women whom social etiquette or religious rules do not allow to go to school, and if possible to give higher instruction to those young girls whom early marriage prevents from following up their studies at a public institution, and who, under the pressure of household duties, very soon forget what they have learnt at school.

(2) This object can hardly be attained by requesting our young students at colleges or schools to give regular private

lessons to their mothers, sisters and wives at home. It will be long before such a system of *zenana* teaching resting as it would, on individual effort and on the will and pleasure of a boy-teacher, can become a working reality. No amount of eloquent speaking or writing would for the present persuade our young autocrats to sacrifice their leisure hours to the regular instruction of their female relations. Our University authorities may, however, make a judicious move in this direction by eliciting from each graduate on the Convocation day a solemn promise to promote the education of his sisters, wife and daughters—a promise which on a public occasion would at least have the effect of directing his attention forcibly to a matter of no trival importance to him and to his country.

III*

(3) The education to be given to our purdah women must not be the sort of education that our boys receive at our public schools. It must have special reference to the legitimate sphere and mission of true womanhood, and to the part that our ladies have to play in active social life. At the same time, it must be such as would fit the future wife for a life of intellectual companionship with the educated husband. It must tend to create a harmony of interests and a community of views between the married couple, so as to pave the way to the rearing of a well-disciplined family, influenced by identical interests and looking at all human concerns from the same intelligent point of view. And this result can only be achieved by giving to the wife such education as would enable her to enter into and appreciate the ideas of her educated husband who has been nurtured on the food of Western culture, and whose intellectual nature has, therefore, attained a new growth. Her education

* *The Punjab Patriot*, dated May 4, 1891.

must, in short, tend to lessen the mental discrepancies existing between her and a husband in whom a wide acquaintance with books and the outside world has given birth to new aspirations and stimulated higher energies of a new order.

(4) It will thus be seen that the education sought to be provided for our high class women must fulfil at least three preliminary conditions in order that it may have the intended results :—

First, it must not follow too closely the ordinary curriculum prescribed for boys in our public schools. The sphere of woman's activity in life being in many respects distinct from that of man, the education of a girl must necessarily be different in both its nature and scope from that of a boy, so that it may enable her when grown up to discharge with efficiency her delicate functions in a complex society.

Secondly, it must not, on the other hand, depart too much in its general character from the instruction imparted in boys' schools. Our main object being to bring the two sexes into intellectual contact with each other, the home education needed for a girl, though necessarily adapted to her peculiar wants in social life, must on the whole have a distinct tendency to render her points of view substantially the same as those of her male companion in life, and thus create a fairly workable identity of aims between them.

Thirdly, it must not err by laying too great a stress on the mental development of our women to the injury of their practical instincts for the due management of home affairs. A woman has a right to be well-educated, but her invaluable feminine resources which give her such a decided ascendancy in the control of family concerns must not be weakened by a too exclusive attention to her intellectual training, which though an indispensible factor in all human progress, is yet but a part of the education of a woman. This precaution, however, needs but slight observation in this part of the country, as it is highly improbable that any system of home-education for women which we can devise for the present will be in danger of erring on this comparatively safe side.

(5) We have to make a small beginning no doubt, but it must be made in conformity with modern principles of instruction. The system of indigenous education based as it is mainly on rote-teaching must be discouraged, and our purdah women must be taught in a manner best fitted under the circumstances to develop their higher mental faculties, and exercise as far as possible their powers of observation. The new system of home-teaching must be so worked as to make the acquisition of useful knowledge through books quite an interesting occupation for the inmates of the *zenana*, who, in the absence of an ability to read or write, are very often tempted to spend their leisure time in frivolous talk about dress or jewellery and more especially in family squabbles. Their mental vision is as a rule so limited that they cannot go beyond the narrow limits of their petty domestic matters, and cannot therefore form an intelligent view of things outside the routine of their monotonous daily life. The education most needed for them at present must embrace subjects of study which would be entertaining as well as intelligent, and impart a substantial amount of useful general information without requiring much mental effort on the part of the learner. In this way the paths to future progress in female education will be made pretty smooth, and our new *zenana* pupils will not be scared away from books as being difficult or dry. The general subjects for home-education should in my opinion be somewhat as follows :—

Reading, writing and elementary arithmetic ; calligraphy and drawing ; simple bookkeeping ; needlework (plain and ornamental), knitting and making coloured patterns ; superficial general geography and history ; outlines of the history and geography of the Punjab and of India ; very elementary knowledge of the common facts of physics and natural history (with useful object lessons on plant and animal life, mineral products in daily use &c &c) ; hygiene ; and domestic economy.

If possible, instruction by means of books must be supplemented by a regular course of object lessons (by the use

of pictures &c &c.) which besides their great virtues from an educational point of view as inducing a healthy exercise of the powers of observation would bring our purdah ladies into cheerful contact with a living outside world, and thus extend the range of their disciplined imagination. They would claim familiarity with a larger number of useful and interesting objects on whom they can bestow their tender sympathies and to whom they can talk in moments of loneliness or grief.

(6) Besides the above-named subjects, religious and moral instruction should receive special attention. No system of female education in this country can become popular, or be regarded as complete, which ignores this useful branch of home-instruction. Difficulties may no doubt arise in connection with religious teaching if the proposed scheme for home-classes is taken up by a purely secular agency. But they can be at least partially overcome. The course that I would recommend as one fairly suited to the condition of the people would be in the case of Muhammadan home-classes to set apart an hour or so daily for giving lessons in certain Religious Readers such as those issued by the Text Book Committee of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islām of Lahore : and in the case of Hindu high class women, I should think some useful Hindi Readers would be available for their religious instruction. This would be found sufficient to cover the necessities of the case. Beyond the elementary knowledge of religious principles embodied in these and such like Readers the proposed teaching need not go.

IV*

(7) Among the general subjects for the education of our purdah ladies that I enumerated in my last I would lay special stress on hygiene and domestic economy. A capacity

* *The Punjab Patriot*, dated June 1, 1891.

to bring up and manage a healthy and well-disciplined family cannot be developed in women without their attention being specially directed, above all things, to cleanliness and the laws of health, so as to impress upon them the primary importance of improving the sanitary condition of their houses by keeping them scrupulously clean and well-ventilated.

A small sanitary primer treating in easy Hindustani of the elementary principles of health, and containing interesting dialogues on pure air, bathing, cleanliness, food and drink, filtered water, house-ventilation, improved drainage, town and village life, &c., &c., seems to me to be an indispensable necessity for our *zenana* women, who, under the existing conditions of popular ignorance, utterly ruin their own health and the health of their children by disregarding the simplest laws of sanitary science, which they think they can set at defiance with impunity. Town-life in the Punjab, as in other parts of India, has had a very serious effect on our physique, so much so that the common city clerk or trader of to-day is a weak, stunted and puny creature compared with his manlier and more vigorous ancestor in days gone by. This great and growing evil which, with the advance of years, threatens to undermine the national constitution of even our martial races, has originated principally in our wilful disregard, in both town and village, of the inflexible laws of health, so much so in fact that even our wealthy *raises* in large cities delight in passing their days and nights in squalid, damp and almost air-tight houses, dignified by the name of *havelis* in *mahallahs* worse by far than the dirtiest slums in the East of London. The only way, I believe, to root out this evil effectually is to teach our high class women how necessary, not only from a sanitary but also from a moral and social point of view, it is to keep themselves and their families clean and their houses free from the smallest trace of dust or squalor. Such a course of instruction, by raising the standard of physical comfort and general tidiness among our women, will ultimately tend

to impart to our home-life a tone of wholesome cheerfulness free from all taint of unclean petulance.

The subject of "Domestic Economy" comprises a great many necessary details of household management with which our ladies must be made thoroughly conversant, by teaching them in a practical way that a great saving of time, labour, and temper may be effected by using proper methods in the despatch of household work, and in regulating the conduct of sundry family affairs requiring the exercise of a sound judgment and an elastic maternal control over the younger members of the family. Proficiency in this branch of home-instruction must be particularly encouraged by holding private test examinations now and then, and awarding prizes to those who show a special aptitude for judicious management of such domestic concerns as commonly fall to the lot of a housewife in respectable society.

(8) Before, however, any practical scheme for home-teaching is seriously taken up by a society in this part of the country, it would be necessary to know what has already been done in this direction by the Zenana Mission, and to enquire generally into the methods used by missionary ladies for popularizing their work of education among our upper-class women in large towns. The measure of success which the Zenana Mission has been able to achieve, and the way in which it has slowly enlarged its sphere of educational activity so far as Zenana teaching is concerned, justify a hope that a secular society composed of Punjabee and English gentlemen can, by a due regard to the facts of Zenana life as disclosed through the varied experience of missionary ladies, so work the proposed scheme as to be able to show remarkable results in a comparatively short space of time. We are thankful to the Christian promoters of Zenana Mission for the healthy impetus they have given to female education in the Punjab, and to the many lady-workers who have invariably shown genuine sympathy for the woes of their Indian sisters in all the trials of life. But we cannot forget that in undertaking most of the philanthropic schemes working in our midst and entailing vast

expenditure of time, talent and money, the Mission has but one object in view, that is, the conversion of Indian men and women to Christianity. It is clearly this avowed object of the Zenana Mission which, among Hindus and Muhammadans, renders their otherwise praiseworthy and highly useful efforts liable to be regarded with peculiar suspicion, and even has, to a slight degree, made it more difficult than before to persuade the common people to send their girls to school. The time, I think, has come when a secular society in Lahore should be prepared to take up the work hitherto left exclusively to missionary ladies, whose past experience of Zenana teaching may, however, be adopted as a useful guide in organising home-classes and otherwise developing the proposed scheme with the least possible expenditure of money.

Before, however, the proposal is carried into practice, the financial aspect of the scheme will have to be specially studied, as it is generally for want of sufficient funds that such projects speedily fall through. For the purpose of making a humble beginning, the expenses need not, however, be greater than can be met with without much difficulty. We know that the Madras, Bombay and Calcutta Branches of the National Indian Association have been able to carry on such work for years without complaining of want of funds. Donations, fees, Government grants, and the amount received from the general funds of the Association, amply suffice for paying the salaries of the teachers, giving prizes to successful pupils, and for other miscellaneous expenses, such as conveyance, stationery, &c., &c. I believe it would be sufficient for our present purpose to engage the services of three female teachers and one Superintendent who could on the average give two hours a day to visiting houses at which home-classes, consisting as a rule of not less than three pupils each, could be inspected. The Superintendent must, if possible, be an English lady who, if an honorary worker and of a sympathetic disposition, will be in a position to exercise a highly refining influence on the inmates of the *zenana*. The average fee for pupils may range from one to

two rupees a month, and any deficiency in the funds may occasionally be supplied by the sale of needlework executed by advanced pupils with materials supplied by the society.

(9) Apart from what has been said above as to the general difficulties that lie in the way of organising home-classes for upper-class women, there is yet another serious drawback to their education which it is not easy to remove. There is, as we all know, no literature for women worth the name in the Punjab. Professor Oman not long ago in a public lecture deplored the want of a wholesome national literature in this part of the country, and he told us how we could improve and enrich what little of it we already have in our vernacular. I wish our educated men would seriously reflect on the suggestions he has made, and create a literature for our women. At present they have practically nothing to read or at best very little that can be pronounced as instructive and suited to the requirements of modern family life. The education of a purdah lady is now confined to reading a few books in Urdu written by Maulvis Nazir Ahmad, Altaf Hussain and others, which make up the whole literature available for her instruction. Under these circumstances, how can we expect to see our women cultivate their minds to a degree commensurate with the intellectual needs of an educated family?

Since the above was written, I have learnt with great pleasure that the Punjab Association has resolved to make a provision for the home-education of purdah ladies by setting apart a portion of its funds for this purpose. The Association deserves the hearty thanks of all those who have the educational well-being of this province at heart for initiating a movement that, in the fulness of time, is expected to effect a lasting improvement in the condition of our women, and I earnestly hope that men of light and learning at Lahore will be prepared to lend all possible assistance to the Association in successfully carrying on the great patriotic work that it has undertaken.

7

AN APPEAL TO THE INDIAN MUSALMANS*

Sir,

I SHALL deem it a great favour if you will allow me, through the medium of your valuable paper, to invite the attention of my Musalman brethren to the dangerously insanitary condition of Mecca, as shown by the terrible outbreak of cholera among the pilgrims last month, and to awaken them to a sense of their duty to the thousands of their co-religionists and fellow countrymen who resort to Arabia every year to pay humble homage to the Holy Shrine. As telegram after telegram appeared in the last week of July in the Indian press announcing the terrible ravages committed by the cholera epidemic at Mecca, Madina and Jedda, one could almost feel the thrill of horror sent vibrating through thousands of Muslim homes all over the country, where many a fond heart, full of tremulous anxiety for the return of a dearly-loved relation, must have felt deeply the pangs of dark suspense and secret grief. While we in India were in a buzz of general merriment during a week of Eid festivities, thinking the world was happy, scores and hundreds of homeless Hajis, hoping erelong to return to their native land, were sinking fast beyond the sea, smitten by the merciless hand of death, strewing the bare desert with their corpses, and thrown together perhaps into one deep pit without a sympathetic tear, "uncoffined and unknown." On July 25 the deaths from cholera among the pilgrims had reached the startling number of 400 daily. And for all

* This letter was published in *The Tribune* (dated August 26, 1891) and other newspapers.

this widespread pilgrim slaughter who is to blame? Not the poor people of Mecca who live mainly on charity and foreign aid; not the Sultan of Turkey who, with an empty exchequer, can ill-afford to spend State money for our physical welfare that we may spiritually advance; not the Indian Government who have already done for the pilgrim traffic what a Christian Government could be expected to do; not the impecunious primitive communities of Central Asia; no—it is we who are chiefly to blame, we the educated, well-to-do Musalmans of this country. Is it possible for a vast concourse of people, exceeding 20,000 in number, to assemble for several days in the small valley of Mecca to perform their religious rites, and to sacrifice at Mina between seventy and eighty thousands of animals on one afternoon, without being afflicted with a severe epidemic disease, so long as no effective sanitary arrangements are made and no care taken to remove the blood and the surplus dead meat to a convenient place, so as to prevent noxious odours poisoning the air which the assembled pilgrims have to inhale? Unwholesome food, insufficient clothing, indulgence in meat diet on the day of sacrifice and other similar sins against right living, unavoidably committed by a large assemblage of all conditions of people will, no doubt, continue to cause more or less illness among the pilgrims every year; but the terrible inroads made by cholera upon the helpless Hajis at Mecca this season can only be set down to our own culpable remissness in not introducing a good working system of sanitation in the Holy City. Bad drainage, a deficient supply of good water, defective latrines, the absence of suitable places of slaughter, and unhealthy surroundings,—these are some of the chief grievances of the Haji, to which, in the name of religion and fellow-feeling, we are bound to attend. And the sooner we try to remove them, the better for us and the city of Mecca.

Few of us know the extent of the mischief caused by neglected sanitation at this centre of Muslim devotion, or we would not be so callously indifferent to the sufferings of the pilgrims as we now are. A glance at the following

official returns for the last 6 years will show the startling fact that of all the pilgrims who leave Bombay for the Haj, more than one-third never come back to this country :—

Number of Pilgrims.

Year.	Left.	Returned.	Missing
1885	8,436	5,045	3,391
1886	8,606	6,150	2,456
1887	9,466	5,726	3,740
1888	13,970	6,505	7,465
1889	12,495	10,101	2,394
1890	11,665	8,662	3,003
Total . .	64,638	42,189	22,449

Making due allowance for the comparatively few pilgrims who become domiciled or stay for a few months at Mecca or Madina, or who come back by other routes, the grievous fact remains that the number of pilgrims missing every year is enormous, so as to cause intense anxiety and a life-long sorrow to hundreds of bereaved families throughout the land. But this is not all. Judging from the annual returns for the last 8 years (1883-90), it would appear that the ratio of actual mortality among the pilgrims on their return voyage from Jedda, occupying between 12 to 14 days, ranges from 150 to 379 deaths, giving an average of 263 deaths per thousand per annum. This enormous death-rate is due to privation and starvation on land journey to Jedda, to over-crowding and sickness on board, to unhealthy ships, to unwholesome food and a deficient supply of water, and to other causes of a similar nature.

Of all these evils the most serious, however, is the lack of sufficient accommodation for each passenger, with his necessary luggage, on board the pilgrim ships plying between Jedda and Bombay, the space allowed in between decks being only nine superficial and 54 cubic feet per adult. The result is that the pilgrims are literally packed in these vessels, it being just possible for each passenger to lie down, only if he could throw his baggage overboard. In foul weather when the passengers cannot occupy the upper deck and are obliged

to go down, the death-rate, we are told, invariably goes up. And no wonder. So long as each pilgrim is allowed only nine superficial feet of space out of which more than 3 feet are very often occupied with his personal baggage, and the vessel carries no official on board whose duty it is to see that a starving passenger is provided with food and water, so long shall we continue to hear of the hundreds of Hajis, who, between Jedda and Bombay, add each year to the long roll of immature deaths that could easily be averted if only we apathetic Musalmans of India had a little more genuine sympathy for the numberless bereaved families who are left to mourn the loss of those that will never return. For such of us as, animated by a spirit of Muslim fellow feeling, are disposed to spend a spare hour in reflecting over the fate of the "Kasmapurs" Hajis, there cannot be a more instructive study than the valuable Memorandum on pilgrim traffic prepared by Dr. MacCartie, and printed as Appendix IV to the Native Passenger Ships' Commission Report. The simple and practical suggestions embodied in that Memo would, if fully carried out, considerably improve the pilgrim traffic, and I beseech the earnest attention of men of light and learning among us to all that Dr. MacCartie has to say for our benefit and in sympathy with the Muhammadans of India.

The figures that I have quoted above teach us a timely and touching lesson which we must take to heart, if we are anxious to preserve in its present proportions the pilgrim traffic to Mecca and Madina. To a thinking mind this enormous loss of life every year among the devout Muslims, and with it of high-souled religious fervour, a priceless rarity in these times, means something terribly serious for the whole world of Islam. The increased dangers of pilgrimage to Mecca would inevitably tend to impede the play of a hundred forces in the Muslim mind, now freely gravitating to a common centre, and would as certainly give rise to a general lukewarm religious temperament in this country. It is time, then, for us in India to be up and doing. Earnest and influential men like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Sardar

Muhammad Hayat Khan, Muhammad Barkat Ali Khan, Mr. Justice Amir Ali, Nawab Abdul Latif Khan, Mr. Budr-ud-Din Tayabji, Nawab Mehdi Ali of Hyderabad and a hundred others could easily raise a whole army of workers if they but chose to move their tongues. What we want is an organised and sustained effort to raise funds in all the chief towns in India for placing on a sound footing the sanitation of Mecca—the only place in the religious world to which millions of devout knees are bent five times a day from all quarters of the globe. A Central Association may be started, with branches all over the country, for carrying on the work of collecting funds by circulating appeals and leaflets among the higher and middle classes, giving correct information on the subject of pilgrim sufferings, and otherwise popularizing the aims of the central body. The Indian Government may also be approached with a humble memorial extensively signed by representative men, praying for help in carrying out the unanimous suggestions of successive Port Health Officers at Bombay, who for years past have pointed out in vigorous protests the evils of overcrowding on board the pilgrim vessels leaving every year for Arabia.

We in the Punjab should certainly be able to do a great deal in this matter. The Anjuman-i-Islamia and Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam of Lahore, the Anjuman-i-Islamia of Amritsar, and other influential Muhammadan Societies in this province can, through the judicious help of Moulvies and by working in co-operation with one another, collect large subscriptions from the nobility and gentry and the middle class Musalmans, who are always ready with their mite to help forward the cause of Islam. After all that has been said above, and the grievous heart-burnings caused in many a Muslim home by our censurable indifference to the subject in the past, this humble appeal to the religious zeal, the public spirit, the faith and the humanity of my Musalman brethren, will not, I sincerely hope, be allowed to pass unnoticed and without a sympathetic response.

8

ISLAM IN AFRICA

A lecture delivered at the First Anniversary of the Young Men's Muhammadan Association, Lahore held in January 1892.

Gentlemen,

THE subject on which I propose to address you this evening is one which, for various reasons, is likely to be of some interest to those amongst you who may have at times felt the desire, so natural for the young cultured Musalmans of this country to feel, of forming some sort of idea as to the present condition of Islam among the diversified tribes that inhabit the mysterious continent of Africa beyond the western sea. On an occasion like the present when we are celebrating the first anniversary of our Young Men's Muhammadan Association, how very pleasing it is to think of the hundreds of our youthful co-religionists whose minds, having emerged from the darkness of ancestral ignorance and prejudice, and gradually expanding under the light and warmth of improved ideas of modern times, have in part shared the intellectual awakening of Indian communities under the fostering influences of a Benign Power, and begun humbly to enquire into the past history and the present strength of the great system of faith to which they have given their devout adherence. It is, indeed, difficult at times to resist feeling a certain glow of enthusiasm at the idea that in these days of lukewarm beliefs and contemptuous indifference to all forms of religion there should now and then arise within the Muslim breast such soul-stirring emotions of sympathy and fervour of faith as unconsciously link the individual believer, with the strength of an iron chain, to the vast community of the faithful resting in the bosom of the historic past.

Old ideas about religion and time-honoured prejudices which have hitherto stifled the reason of man are, no doubt, still lingering amongst us, but the dark mantle of night may yet be lifted, and the benighted wayfarer on the path of religious life may soon see the signs of an approaching dawn. We of the present must first equip ourselves with a knowledge of the past, and then start, fresh with hope and firm in resolve, on a career of future improvement. It is mainly my faith in this principle that has led me on more occasions than one to impress on my young friends the need for a thorough acquaintance with the historical development of Islam from its primitive simplicity in the seventh century down to its latest phase in modern times. It may be we have some earnest students amongst us this evening who have set themselves the task of patiently testing the soundness of our current notions of positive morality and religion in the light of historical study by seeking to trace them, if possible, to the source from whence they are supposed to have flowed before securing universal acceptance among the nations of the world. It may be that the spirit of enlightened and critical research which has manifested itself in the religious writings of a small school of thinkers in our midst, who, fearless of sacerdotal *anathemas*, are bent on throwing the strong light of reason on some dark corners of the sacred structure, has also penetrated and inspired some of those gentlemen who compose my audience. But on the whole I must own I have been deeply grieved to find that even among the highly cultured Muhammadans, at least in this part of the country, there is noticeable a marked ignorance of Islamic history which, were it not for our uniform backwardness in all directions, I would have called, perhaps of all things, the most astounding. You may not have the leisure, but you ought certainly to have the desire, for studying in some of its important bearings the religious system which from the moment of your birth has created around you a moral and social atmosphere in which you live, and move, and have your being, and which has furnished the world with a code of healthy rules that regulate the

conduct of countless millions of your fellow-men from the cradle to the grave. My task this evening is not to afford you a pleasant glimpse of the bygone grandeur of Islam, or to sing the glories of its meteoric rise and bemoan its rapid fall. I have come to tell you in brief words what Islam has done for the dark and despised races of Africa, and what it yet promises to do for the spiritual elevation of its fallen humanity. In speaking to you on the subject my chief aim is, apart from giving you some reliable information as to the progress and strength of Islam among the Negro races as compared with other forms of creed, to excite your curiosity and religious zeal which, if rightly used and supplemented by an inquiring frame of mind, may lead you on to a deeper acquaintance with the great problems pertaining to the world of Islam which, through pressure of unseen forces, may one day demand your earnest attention.

With these remarks by way of introduction I shall now proceed, with your permission, to sketch in brief outline the rapid spread of Islam after the death of the Arabian Prophet within one hundred years of his flight from Mecca in one sweeping wave of conquest from the renowned land of Khusros on the east to the fertile valleys of Spain on the western extremity of the Mediterranean Sea. In the very first year of Khalifa Abu Bakr's rule the invincible Khalid advanced to the confines of Persia, and reducing several cities of importance planted the Muslim flag on Christian soil. The conquerors' arms were now rapidly pushed through Persia, and the fiery Arabs soon drove before them the scattered remnants of an effeminate race. The "obstinate" battle of Cadesia in A.D. 636, the sack of Madayen in the following year and last of all the memorable victory at Nehavend brought the whole Persian empire to the feet of the fierce warriors of the desert, and the cry of Allah-o-Akbar (God is great) was now for the first time heard on the still shores of the Caspian Sea.

Simultaneously with the invasion of Persia, Abu Bakr sent an army under the command of Abu Ubaida and Khalid for the conquest of Syria. After many sieges and sanguinary

battles, Basra, Damascus, Jerusalem, Allepo and Antioch were successively reduced by the Muslims between 632 and 638 A. D. until in the latter year the superstitious Heraclius with a sinking heart and the dismal prospects of a falling crown before him secretly fled with a few faithful attendants, leaving his son Constantine to fight the losing battle. In this place it is perhaps well to recall the significant words that the first successor of the Prophet Muhammad addressed to the commanders and the soldiers of the Muslim army before sending them to Syria and Persia to extend the rule of Arabia. "When you fight the battles of the Lord", said Abu Bakr, "acquit yourselves like men without turning your backs, but let not your victory be stained with the blood of old men, women or children. Destroy no palm trees nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit trees nor do any mischief to cattle, except such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it and be as good as your word As you go on you will find some religious persons who live retired in monasteries and propose to themselves to serve God that way : let them alone : and neither kill them nor destroy their monasteries."

After shaking the thrones of Khusros and Cæsars the slender army of the Muslims under the command of the intrepid Amr marched on the land of Pharaoh in 638 A. D. Cairo and Alexandria were soon reduced and with them the country "between a pulverized mountain and a red sand" became an Arabian province. The waters of the Nile interposed no insuperable barrier to the onward wave of Muslim conquest ; Egypt was only a halting place for the victorious hordes of the devoted Peninsula on their way to extend further westward the Saracenic sway. It is about the middle of the seventh century that we find Khalifa Osman entrusting the command of his army to Abdullah-ibn-Said who at the head of forty thousand desperate soldiers plunged into the dark sands of the unknown continent of which we are to speak more fully this evening. The turn of Africa has now come. After a wearying march westward, the Muslims pitch their tents under the walls of Tripoli ; the Greeks fight

fiercely and with skill, the beauteous daughter of the Prefect wielding her bow and scimitar by the side of her valiant father. The struggle is desperate and prolonged, but the Arabian Star is in the ascendant and even the promised hand of the accomplished warrior maid with a hundred thousand pieces of gold, has failed to bring within reach of an African sword the head of the Arabian general. Zubeir spurs the flagging zeal of Abdullah, and the protracted campaign of fifteen months is at last crowned with the fall of one of the richest cities in the north of Africa.

After an interval of about 20 years spent by the Arab chiefs in the settlement of internal disputes, Moawiyah, the first Khalifa of the house of Omayya, once more turned his attention to the western continent. Under the command of the far-famed Uqba the Muslim soldiers from Syria and Egypt swept like a whirlwind over the States of Berbery, across desert wildernesses, passing through arid plains and over bare mountains, and pushing their victorious arms westward past the great Sahara right on to the verge of the Atlantic Sea. Here the "career, though not the zeal, of the Muslim general was checked," says Gibbon, "by the prospect of a boundless ocean. He spurred his horse into the waves and raising his eyes to heaven exclaimed, 'Great God, if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of Thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than Thee'." It was this Uqba who in the year 50 A.H. planted in the heart of Africa the first Arabian colony under the name of Qairawan which down to this day has continued to be an important town in the State of Tunis, and which soon after its foundation became the seat of learning and of empire.

These brilliant exploits having been again interrupted for a time by the inter-tribal dissensions of the Arabian commonwealth, Khalifa Abdul Malik resumed the conquest of Africa in 692 A.D., and in the space of about seventeen years the reduction of Carthage under Hasan, and the final subjugation of the independent intractable Berbers who

under their Prophetess-Queen Cahina had successfully resisted the advance of Muslim power, completed the great work that forty years ago the immortal hero Uqba had begun so well.

I have taken the liberty to preface my lecture with this brief historical sketch of the progress of Muslim conquests in the north of Africa in the latter half of the seventh century, with the view principally of recalling to you the exact time when, and the circumstances under which the African races first came into contact with a people whose dormant national energies and conscience had all of a sudden been awakened and fired by a Preacher whom Providence had entrusted with the promulgation of a new form of creed. The Arabian Muslims first established their political supremacy in Africa, and then by their free and familiar intercourse with the advanced town population and the wandering Berbers of the desert, unencumbered by any race or caste distinctions, they sowed the first humble seeds of the humanising faith in which they all so devoutly believed. From that time down to the present century Islam has been making steady progress among the dark races of Africa, until it has now become the religion—not the external, conventional lip-religion professed for reasons of social convenience, but the deep-rooted, animating heart faith—of almost all the powerful and prosperous Negro tribes. It is of the growth and spread of Islam among these Negroes inhabiting Central and Western Africa that I am to speak to you this evening.

In the month of October 1887, just a few days after my arrival in England, the English Church Congress held their annual meeting at Wolverhampton, at which Canon Isaac Taylor, in the course of a paper on British Missions in Africa had the boldness to express an opinion, formulated as he said after mature reflection on the basis of facts and figures, that as compared with the marvellous success achieved by Islam, Christianity had been a deplorable failure on the African continent. The reading of this paper was like throwing a hot cinder in a heap of powder; the whole body of

learned ecclesiastics were mad with indignation at the crazed Canon, and the religious papers throughout Great Britain had some very tender things to say about the black sheep that had strayed from the fold. There followed a heated discussion in the public press in which *The Times* took a prominent part, charging Canon Taylor with shallow knowledge, plagiarism, treachery to the Church, and a hundred other sins, until he was obliged to seek protection from the ungenerous attacks of his incensed critics in a retreat to Egypt where far from the distracting din of church polemics he could see and judge for himself what Islam had done and was doing for the great Negro land. I had quietly watched the fierce storm of controversy burst all over England, and when its fury at last subsided, I wrote to Canon Taylor to thank him for his love of truth, and his spirited defence of Islam from the inroads of Missionary assailants. His reply from Egypt is characteristic of the man, and shows that a nature like his was not made to succumb to sacerdotal anathemas, albeit hallowed by the unanimous assent of a powerful Church organization and an amiable Christian nation. "I have come to the East," says Canon Taylor in his reply to my letter, "for the purpose of studying the capabilities and results of Islam in its own realm, and so far I see no reason for substantially modifying the conclusions at which I have already arrived. I hope on my return home to publish a small volume on Muhammadanism as it is. . .Here at Cairo I have been in communication with the 'Young Egypt' party who desire to bring Islam out of its stationary position, and to make it progressive with the times. As to the probabilities of this I shall be glad to consult you". Thus it was that in October 1887, my attention was for the first time called to the religious condition of the African races, for before the instructive and amusing controversy over Canon Taylor's paper I must confess I, in common with the majority of India Musalmans, knew absolutely nothing of the extensive spread of Islam among the teeming millions of Habashistan. My interest in the question deepened day by day until I read Mr. Bosworth Smith's article on "Muhammadanism

in Africa" in *The Nineteenth Century* for December 1887, and Dr. Blyden's book entitled *Christianity, Islam and the Negro-race.* A perusal of these threw a new light on the subject, and I began to think of the African Negroes whom I had hitherto regarded as cannibal savages, devoid of morality or religion with as much sympathy as I had ever felt for the Musalmans of this country. I have gathered my information principally from both these authorities, and from these I shall have to quote very largely this evening, if only for the purpose of shielding myself from the critics' too probable charge that in describing the net result of the work of Islam in Africa I have chiefly drawn on my own imagination. But before I go to my proper subject, you will allow me, I hope, to tell you in a few words who Dr. Blyden is and what competent scholars think of his book on which I shall rely as an accredited and unimpeachable authority.

He was born, we are told, in the Island of St. Thomas, West Indies, and is of pure Negro parentage. In his seventeenth year he went to the United States for purposes of study, but all the institutions of learning having refused to admit him on the ground of his being a Negro, he entered a High School in Liberia where he eventually rose to the position of a head-master. In 1862 he was elected to a Professorship in the new College of Liberia, and in 1864 he was appointed Secretary of State by the President of the Republic. In 1869 he made a journey to the East, visiting Egypt and Syria, chiefly with the view of studying the Arabic language. Subsequently he was sent by the Governor of Sierra Leone on two diplomatic missions to the powerful chiefs of the interior. In 1877 he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Liberia at the English Court, and was received by Her Majesty at Osborne on July 30, 1878. He is a Fellow of the American Philological Association, an Honorary Member of the Athanæum Club, and of many other literary and scientific Societies in Europe and America. In 1885, he was nominated by the Republican party a candidate for Presidency of the Republic of Liberia. Mr. Bosworth Smith in his article to which I have already

referred, speaks of Dr. Blyden and his book in these terms :—

"I have been in frequent communication, both by letter and in person, with Mr. Blyden, whom I regard as one of the most remarkable men and whose book entitled *Christianity, Islam, and the Negro-race,* which has recently appeared, I regard. . .as one of the most remarkable books I have ever met. . .It is in the pages of Mr. Blyden's book that the great dumb dark continent has at last begun to speak, and in tones which, if I mistake not, even those who most differ from his conclusions, will be glad to listen to and wish to ponder. If ever any one spoke upon his special subject with a right to be heard upon it, it is Mr. Blyden, and for this simple reason that his whole life has been a preparation for it. With physical energy and literary ability and a general intellectual power which, had he been a European, would have enabled him to fill and adorn almost any public post, a great traveller and an accomplished linguist, equally familiar with Hebrew and Arabic, with Greek and Latin, with five European and with several African languages, he has deliberately chosen to consecrate all his gifts to the elevation and regeneration of his race. He has studied the Negro wherever he is to be found—in the West Indies where he was himself born ; in the United States both before and since Emancipation ; in the English settlement of Sierra Leone and in the Republic of Liberia and in the Muslim and Pagan communities of the interior where a white face has been but rarely seen. His book may make its way slowly at first : but I venture to think it will form a new starting point in the history of his race, and will seriously and permanently modify the views which Europeans have hitherto held of them and of their future."

A man of whom a critic of Mr. Bosworth Smith's eminence speaks in terms like these may well claim to be an authority to whose opinions on all questions pertaining to his own race, Christians and Musalmans alike must attach the highest value, and whose statements of facts as regards the present strength of Islam in Africa must be taken to be true, unless

more impartial and in all respects better qualified observers of Negro life point to contrary conclusions.

We have seen that during the Caliphate of Moawiyah the distinguished Muslim general Uqba overran the whole length of North Africa from the Nile to the pillars of Hercules, and subdued the congeries of tribes spread over those vast regions to the sway of Islam. The Berbery States have from ancient times served as the only medium of active commercial intercourse between the interior of Africa and the European and Asiatic countries bordering the Mediterranean, have been the headquarters of African Christianity, and the stage on which the great scenes of Egyptian and of Phoenician, of Vandal and of Roman civilisation have been enacted. Over this vast stretch of territory Islam has kept a firm hold ever since the time of Uqba. Checked in its westward advance by an insuperable sea-barrier, the strong wave of Muslim conquest, following the bend of the continent, turned southward, and crossing the wastes of the great Sahara, carried everything before it, until the Arabian flag was seen fluttering in the free desert breeze of Timbuctu in the heart of the Sudan. From this centre of influence Muslim traders and soldier-missionaries gradually spread themselves over the whole of Nigritia including the Desert; preached, married, and settied among the Negro tribes, diligently sowing by their conduct and their speech the first seeds of their new religion in a soil so favourable for their reception. In less than one hundred years the wild wandering Berbers, Touaricks, Tibbus, and some other large Nigritian tribes began to follow the Prophet, and so rapidly did Islam assert its sway over these fetish-worshippers, that "when in the middle ages Ibn Batuta visited these regions, he found that Islam had taken firm root among several powerful tribes, had mastered their life and habits, and dominated their whole social and religious policy." Speaking of the wild races roaming over the illimitable sandy plains of the Sahara, Mr. Bosworth Smith says:

"Whenever in this vast expanse, this waterless ocean, three times as large as the Mediterranean, there is a salt

mine, a spring of brackish water or a few palm trees, there are to be found the uncouth followers of the Prophet. In the large oases of Aderer and Agades, Tafilet or Tidikelt, Wargla and Ghadames, Bilma and Tibesti, they are to be found in numbers, and the great caravans which pass and repass the Desert twice in each year, from Morocco to Timbuctu or from Tripoli to Chad, are managed by Muslims only, and pass from none but Muslim to none but Muslim countries."

Leaving the inhospitable sands of the Great Desert and descending to that part of West Central Africa known by the name of Nigritia or the Sudan, we see Islam at its best and working with all its inherent vigour and irrepressible activity for the elevation of the countless masses. In this vast region—as large as the whole of Europe—extending from Niger to the Nile—comprising, west of Lake Chad, the most fertile and the most populous countries, in which are situated the well known cities of Sego, the capital of Bambarra, on the banks of the River Niger, a walled town of thirty thousand inhabitants, with its rich fields and its fine mosques and well built houses, full of life and prosperity; Kuka, the capital of Bornu, on Lake Chad, with a population of sixty thousand souls ; Ilorin, visited and described by the African traveller, Rohlfs, with its sixty thousand inhabitants, its market squares, its many mosques, &c., Kankan, Timbo Masardu, Sakoto, Timbuctu, and Kano, the great emporium of Central Africa sending fifteen hundred camel-loads of blue cotton cloth annually across the Sahara to the states of Berbery—and including the best organised and most powerful Negro kingdoms of Futah, Masina, Bornu, Gando, Hanse, Sakoto, Bambarra, Waday, Darfur, Kordofan, Senaar, &c.—throughout this boundless stretch of country, Islam is the sole monarch of all it surveys, governing the public and private life, the manners and customs of at least *sixty millions* of its negro inhabitants. Coming nearer the coast towards the Gulf of Guinea, we come across the manly, intelligent, and progressive negro tribes, the Foulahs, the Jolofs, the Hansas, and the Mandingoes who "are, to a

man almost, Muhammadan." "And even along the coast line," says Mr. Smith, "where various European Powers have planted their commercial settlements, and where they can boast of a narrow and superficial fringe of Christianity, the trader-missionaries or missionary-traders of Islam—for in Africa they are generally both in one—are pushing their encroachments and manage to make many converts, alike from the Pagan and the semi-Christian natives. Sierra Leone and Lagos, the two chief English settlements, where Islam had been till within a few years ago quite unknown, now possess large and flourishing and self-supporting Muslim communities.

"Between Sierra Leone and Egypt," says Dr. Blyden, "the Muhammadan is the only great intellectual, moral, and commercial power. The tribes intervening have for more than three hundred years been under the influence of Islam. It has taken the possession of, and has shaped the social, political and religious life of, the most intelligent tribes. No one can travel any distance in the interior from this settlement without finding that Islam is the ruling influence. In my journeys, a few years ago, to Faloba, the capital of the great Pagan kingdom of Sulimia, I passed through the Timneh, Loko, Limba and Koranko countries which are also Pagan states ; and when subsequently I went to Timbo, the capital of Futah Jallo, a Muhammadan power, I passed again through several Pagan districts : but I did not pass through a single town on the two routes—going and returning—where I did not find Muhammadans taking a leading part, and where I did not hear the name of Muhammad and his mission publicly proclaimed at least once a day."

In a word almost the whole of Africa north of the Equator is already under the influence of Islam, and the two important Pagan kingdoms, Dahomey and Ashantee, in Western Africa, have, by reason of close intercourse, commercial or otherwise, with the neighbouring Muslim Principalities, been so far imbued with the spirit of the advancing religion that their conversion, thinks Dr. Blyden, is but a question of time.

In Eastern Africa Islam counts amongst its adherents

several powerful and ferocious tribes, such as the Somalis and the Gallas, and to the south the Sultan of Zanzibar rules over Muhammadan races scattered along the whole length of the Swahili coast. In Northern Madagascar and in Mozambiq around all the great lakes—along the Upper Congo, and southward even among the ferocious and obstinate Kafirs, and in the British settlement of Cape Colony, the ardent "believers" are to be found in considerable numbers, "always anxious to propagate their creed." "It is hardly too much to say," writes Mr. Smith, "that one half of the whole of Africa is already dominated by Islam, while, of the remaining half, one quarter is leavened and another threatened by it."

And now let us consider the important question which naturally presents itself to the hearer on listening to this unbiassed testimony to the marvellous success of Islam in Africa. By what means has Islam been propagated among the Negro tribes? I think it necessary to devote a few minutes to the consideration of this question chiefly because an endless succession of non-Muslim critics in Europe and America (and nearer home even some of our Hindu brethren) have invariably associated brute force with the spread of Islam, and this commonly received idea has struck such a deep root in all non-Muslim communities, that I am afraid my Christian friends, if any there are among my audience, must be thinking all the time of the wonder-working, keen-edged sword of a swearing Muhammadan fanatic playing havoc among the defenceless Negroes, while I was busy describing the achievements of Islam in the far-off Negro land. Whatever truth there may be in this sword-theory as regards the spread of this religion in Asiatic countries, we are at least sure that in Africa the followers of the Prophet have not only disdained to call in the adventitious aid of physical force but have acted from the best and the purest of motives in the propagation of their creed. "The yearning of the native African for a higher religion," says Professor Crummell, "is illustrated by the singular fact that Muhammadanism is rapidly and *peaceably* spreading all through

the tribes of Western Africa, even to the Christian settlements of Liberia." Mr. Joseph Thomson, a well-known African traveller, writing to the London *Times*, under date 10th of November 1887, says :—

"Turning now to the West African and the Central Sudan—which I also have had the opportunity of visiting—we find a far different state of things prevailing. Here we have Islam as a living, active force full of the fire and energy of its early days, proselytizing too with much of the marvellous success which characterized its early days. Here we have it preached equally in the streets of Siera Leone and among the debased cannibal tribes of the Niger basin. With the disingenuousness which makes them attempt to fasten the evils of the slave trade upon Islam, the defenders of the Christian faith seek with might and main to minimize and distort the facts about the success of Islam in Western Central Africa. They declare—as they have been taught from their childhood—that *Muhammadanism can only be propagated by means of fire and sword*. They delight to draw pictures of the poor terror-stricken Negro on his knees, his hut in flames behind him, his wives and children with halters round their necks, being dragged off by ferocious men to make slaves of, while a demon-like Musalman stands over him with drawn sword giving him the alternative of 'death or the Quran.' This is the stereotyped notion how Muhammadanism is propagated—an idea I suppose handed down from previous generations. Happily, I have had *an opportunity of seeing for myself and seeing differently*. The greatest triumphs of Islam in the Central and Western Sudan have been *by peaceful and unassuming agencies*—the erratic Fellani herdsman in the past, the energetic and enterprising Hansa or Nupe trader in the present. From somewhere about the twelfth century the herdsman has been engaged spreading his religion from Lake Chad to the Atlantic, with the result that the entire region became honey-combed with little Muhammadan coteries by the end of the last century. Protected by the sanctity of his business, the Negro merchant penetrates into every tribe within

hundreds of miles of his own home. He mixes with the barbarous Pagan as one of like blood with himself, he sleeps in the same house, he eats the same food. Everywhere he carries his religion with him, its great central features unobscured by unthinkable dogmas. He has just so much of doctrine as his Pagan brother can understand and assimilate. The trader remains a month, or it may be six months or a year. During that time he is admired for his fine clothes, and the people around begin to ape him. They see nothing which they may not hope to aspire to ; there is nothing in his religion they do not understand. In this manner have the seeds of civilisation and Islam been scattered broadcast among numerous savage tribes, till the land resounds with the inspiring din of a hundred industries and morning, noon, and evening rises the watchword of Islam, and knees which were formerly bent to stocks and stones now bend before the One God, and lips which have quivered with enjoyment over the flesh of a brother-man are employed to acknowledge His greatness and compassionateness."

I have taken the liberty to give this lengthy quotation from Mr. Thomson's letter to *The Times* as it admirably sums up the views of an unbiassed English traveller, not based on inherited prejudice, and second-hand information, as to the means by which Islam has been introduced among the African tribes, and serves as the last and the most spirited refutation of the base calumnies levelled at this progressive religion by the misinformed and uncandid professors of the rival creed. Another Christian writer, Dr. Blyden, who is admitted to be the highest authority on all questions relating to his fatherland (for you must not forget that he is a Negro of the Negroes though by reason of his literary attainments he is more like a cultured European than a native of Africa) puts in his testimony in favour of the peaceable spread of Islam in these terms :—

"Muhammadanism found its Negro converts at home in a state of freedom and independence of the teachers who brought it to them. When it was offered to them they were *at liberty to choose for themselves*. The Arab missionaries

whom we have met in the interior go about *without 'purse or scrip,' and disseminate their religion by quietly teaching the Quran.* The native missionaries—Mandingoes and Foulahs—unite with the propagation of their faith active trading. Wherever they go they produce the impression that they are not preachers only but traders; and on the other hand that they are not traders merely but preachers. And in this way silently and almost unobtrusively they are causing princes to become obedient disciples and zealous propagators of Islam. Their converts, as a general thing, *become Muslims from choice and conviction,* and bring all the manliness of their former condition to the maintenance and support of their new creed."

And in another place :—"After the first conquests of the Muslims in North Africa, their religion advanced southward into the continent, not by arms but by schools, and books, and mosques, by trade and intermarriage. They could not have brought a force sufficient to subjugate the people, for they had to deal with large powerful and energetic tribes. The Nigritian and Sudanic tribes have never been subdued by a foreign foe, but they have over and over again driven back both Arabs and Europeans." (Page 256)

We may be sure then that in Africa the religion of the Prophet has not asserted its sway over an enormous portion of the vast continent without the Pagan Negroes having been offered the alternative of "the Quran or the sword." Here the soldier missionaries of Islam have fought the battles of their creed on the lines laid down by their Great Leader in his significant precept of peace : "Let there be no compulsion in religion." The sword was sheathed as soon as the wild Moors of North Africa were made to acknowledge the territorial sovereignty of Arabia, and some of the refractory Negro tribes of Nigritia ceased to give trouble to the strangers. Thenceforth the rapid spread of Islam in the surrounding kingdoms of Central and Western Africa is a bright and unsullied record of quiet teaching and preaching of simple elementary truths ; of familiar intercourse with the natives ; of little daily acts of human kindness ; of disinterest-

ed zeal for the wellbeing of the people ; of noble precept and nobler example ; of singleness of purpose and loftiness of aim ; of unswerving devotion to duty ; and lastly of that deep-rooted, soul-stirring religious earnestness, magnetic in its influence over the fetish-worshipping Pagans, which imparts to the Muslim world a power, a coherence, and an irresistible healthy impulse invisible to the eye, but clearly traceable in the grand world-wide work of spiritual reform achieved by the great leaders of Islam.

But besides the conscientious spirit of profound moral enthusiasm brought to bear by the Arab missionary on his labour of love for the slow and silent propagation of his faith among the Negroes, there were working and are still at work far more potent natural forces in Africa that have put Islam in rapid motion along the main line of progress among the native tribes, until in course of time it has acquired a momentum that will give a rude shock to a rival creed advancing to meet it from an opposite direction. There are certain racial and climatic conditions of the continent that favour the expansion of Islam more than of any other form of religion among its inhabitants. Not only have the Arab Muslims been wise to call in the aid of the most suitable agencies for the dissemination of their spiritual doctrines among the Africans—similar living, hearty fellow-feeling, intimate social intercourse, trade and intermarriage—living *among* the people and being of the people—now as Fellani herdsmen and now as Hansa traders—never for an instant losing sight of their mission dearer than life of instilling into the open sympathetic docile, receptive mind of the savage, *simple intelligible* spiritual truths—taking a deep personal interest in, and even showing a certain respect for, his uncouth customs, prejudices, and harmless beliefs, if only to understand him and his whole moral and social life, gently toning down the baser qualities of his rough nature, and bringing out in clearer light the noble traits of his religious character— not only have the Arabs made a judicious use of methods like these in their crusade against Negro superstitions but their efforts in this direction have been

very greatly helped by the circumstance that the soil was naturally in a fit condition for the favourable reception and rapid development of the seed. "In their climate and government, their diet and habitation," says Gibbon, "the wandering Moors resembled the Beduins of the desert. With their religion they were proud to adopt the language, name, and origin of the Arabs ; blood of the strangers and nations was insensibly mingled ; and from the Euphrates to the Atlantic the same nation might seem to be diffused over the sandy plains of Asia and Africa."

"Long prior to the rise of Islam," Dr. Blyden tells us, "the Arab merchant had been in communication with the interior of Africa, and had opened the way for the Arab missionary. When, therefore, the Muslim missionary came as the propagator of a higher religion than any that had been known, he did not enter the country as a stranger. The political and social institutions of the Arabs had already been tried and found suitable to the wants and tastes of the Negro tribes ; indeed the two peoples, if not of cognate origin, have by protracted intercommunication and by the similarity of the physical influences which have for ages operated upon them become similar in tastes ; and it was not difficult for the Arabs to conform to a great extent to the social and domestic customs of the Africans. The Muslim missionary often brought to the aid of his preaching the influence of social and domestic relationships—an influence which in all efforts to convert a people is not to be entirely ignored. So the Arab missionaries often entered into the bonds of wedlock with the daughters of Negro land ; and by their preaching, by their intelligence, by the inter-marriages with the natives, by the trade and generosity of their merchants, they enlisted so many interests and such deep sympathies that they rapidly took abiding root in the country. Some of the brightest names in annals not only of Islamic but of pre-Islamic literature are those of the descendants of Arabs and Africans."

And in another place :—"But it is not simply the religion of Arabs but the race of the Arabs which has given them

such influence over the tendencies of the great tribes. They belong to a cognate race. Before the day of Muhammad, Negroes shared in the learning and politics of Arabia."

Africa is a land which Muhammad himself regarded with peculiar affection. It was thither that he advised the devoted band of his faithful followers to fly when the infuriated Quraish persecuted them by day and by night, while he himself stood bravely at his post. The Muslim world remembers down to this day with feelings of inexpressible gratitude the generous hospitality extended by the large-hearted merciful King Negus of Abyssinia to the shattered remnants of their Teacher's first congregation seeking asylum in a strange land from the persecutors' sword. From that time the Muslims have loved the Negro, and the Negro has played a large part in shaping the course of Islam not only in his own land but in Arabia itself. Even in the "time of Ignorance" the dusky sons of Africa trod the Arabian soil as though it were part of their own sun-burnt sandy plains. Antara, the son of a Negress slave (nicknamed the "Crow," from the deep black colour of his skin) is renowned as the author of one of the immortal "Sabaa Muallaqa", the "seven suspended" poems in Arabic delivered extempore by the great masters at the poetic contests at the annual national gathering held at Okaz, and bequeathed to an admiring posterity as unrivalled in the whole range of Arabic poetry. Bilal, another Negro, was among the most trusted favourites of Muhammad, and by his sweet tongue were uttered for the first time the thrilling words of "Azan," or call to prayer—that watchword of Islam that amid the stillness of an early dawn or the din of a busy afternoon, rises five times a day from every tall minaret, pointing heavenward as a silent witness to the unity of God, in all parts of the habitable globe. Turn over pages of Ibn Khalikan and you will find the names of Negroes mentioned side by side with the greatest heroes of Islam.

"You can understand why it is then that Islam has such a hold upon the African tribes who have embraced it. They gather under the beams of the Crescent not only for religious

but for patriotic reasons, till they are not only swayed with one idea but act as one individual. The faith becomes a part of their nationality, and is entwined with their affections. Arguments from outsiders have no weight with them. There are names and phrases which have such effect upon their minds and so thrill them as supersede and transcend all argument: and many of these names and phrases are names and phrases held in reverence by Christians. . . . That theory which attributes the success of Islam in Africa to what are frequently denounced as the sensual aspects of the religion is based upon ignorance not only of the system but of the elementary facts of human nature. No religion could exert so powerful a sway over two hundred millions of people of all races and climes for more than a thousand years which appealed chiefly to the lower passions."

(Blyden, page 266)

Another great reason, I believe, why Islam has so rapidly influenced and deeply touched the mind of the Negroes in Africa is that it recognises no race or caste distinctions, and looks to the soul, to the real inward man and not to the outward skin. "I admonish you to fear God", said Muhammad to his followers, "and obey my successor although he may be a black slave." It is to this entire absence of colour or race prejudice, a necessary and a very significant result of Muhammad's teaching and a corner-stone of his cosmopolitan system of religion that we may reasonably attribute in part the success of Islam among the Negro tribes. We have seen that long before the advent of a prophet the African Negro had been brought to look upon Arabia much with the same feelings as he regarded his own native land and that subsequently he had materially assisted at the slow building up of that new religious commonwealth. Islam had therefore special reasons for discarding in express terms the inhuman and infamous dogma, so widely accepted and acted upon by civilized Christian nations in Europe and Africa, that dark colour must carry with it not merely a social disability but even a certain incapacity for spiritual elevation. A Negro convert to Islam enjoys in all respects

the same privileges and holds the same position in the Muslim world as the proudest descendant from the house of Muhammad whose skin is as white as snow. In the whole range of Arabic language, it has been truly observed, so remarkably comprehensive in its vocabulary, there is not a single word or phrase which can describe a race with half the stinging contempt that the expression "Nigger," so often used even by Christian missionaries in relation to an African, conveys to the mind of the hearer. Arabia gave birth to a religious democracy that assigns the highest place and gives the greatest power to the intellectual, moral and spiritual faculties of a man, unmindful of the accidental colouring of his skin. The darkest Foulah, as soon as he renounces his superstitious creed is at once admitted as a member of the vast Brotherhood of Islam, in all respects the equal of the proudest defenders of the faith. So far from being treated with contempt, he is respected on all sides, he is honoured as a hero, innocent as the newly born babe, who has manfully struggled from darkness into light ; and valued a priceless addition to the congregation of the Faithful. Free from the withering influence of caste and untrammelled by narrow race limitations, he can give free scope to his aspirations ; he can extend the range of his mental vision ; he can rise by the judicious use of his natural gifts to the highest temporal or ecclesiastical power in the Muslim world ; he can in a word become an Imam or a King. No wonder then that Islam is making such marvellous strides among the despised races of the dark continent. Compared with a Negro Muslim, what is the social position of an African convert to Christianity? Here let a Christian Negro speak for himself :

"It is not too much to say," says Dr. Blyden, "that the popular literature of the Christian world since the discovery of America or at least for the last 200 years has been anti-Negro. The Muhammadan Negro has felt nothing of the withering power of caste. There is nothing in his colour or race to debar him from the highest privileges, social or political, to which any other Muslim can attain. The slave who becomes a Muhammadan is free." (Page 18).

And in another place : "With every wish, no doubt to the contrary, the European seldom or never gets over the feeling of disdain, if not of repulsion, which he experiences on first seeing the Negro. While he joyfully admits the Negro to be his brother having the same nature in all its essential attributes, still owing to the diversity in type and colour he naturally concludes that the inferiority which to him appears on the surface must extend deeper than the skin, and affect the soul. Therefore very often in spite of himself he stands off from his African convert even when under his training he has made considerable advance in civilisation and the arts. And the missionary looking from a comfortable social distance surveys the Europeanised native, sometimes with pity, sometimes with dismay, seldom with thorough sympathy." (Page 24)

And at pages 15, 16 : "Muhammadanism and learning to the Negro were coeval. No sooner was he converted than he was taught to read, and the importance of knowledge was impressed upon him. The Christian Negro came in contact with mental and physical proscription and the religion of Christ contemporaneously. If the Muhammadan Negro had at any time to choose between the Quran and the sword, when he chose the former, he was allowed to wield the latter as the equal of any other Muslim ; but no amount of allegiance to the Gospel relieved the Christian Negro from the degradation of wearing the chain which he received with it, or rescued him from the political and, in a measure ecclesiastical, proscription which he still undergoes in all the countries of his exile. Everywhere in Christian lands he plays at the present moment the part of the slave, ape or puppet."

And again, "The Muhammadan Negro is a much better Muhammadan than the Christian Negro is a Christian because the Muslim Negro as a learner is a disciple, not an imitator. With the disciple progress is from within ; the imitator grows by accretion from without. The learning acquired by a disciple gives him capacity ; that gained by an imitator terminates in itself. The one becomes a capable man ; the other a mere sciolist. This explains the difference

between the Muhammadan and the Christian Negro." (Page 44).

We in India know full well how materially race and colour prejudice on the part of the white Christian Missionaries has retarded the progress of Christianity in this country. "In India," says Mr. Bosworth Smith, "Muhammadans make converts by hundreds from among the Hindus while Christians with difficulty make ten ; and this partly at least because they receive their converts on terms of entire social equality while Europeans, in spite of all the efforts of missionaries to the contrary, seem either unwilling or unable to treat their converts as other than inferiors. The Hindu who turns Muhammadan loses his narrow caste but becomes a member of the brotherhood of Islam." To pride of race and colour prejudice, happily the Muslim mind is a perfect stranger. The point of view from which Islam regards the Negro may fitly be expressed in the words of an Arabian poet addressed to a Negro Khalifa of Baghdad : "Blackness of skin cannot degrade an ingenuous mind or lessen the worth of the scholar or the wit. Let blackness claim the colour of your body ; I claim as mine your fair and candid soul."

کیسی خوش رنگی بھلا یہ بھی کوئی گلشن ہوا
باغ دیں میں اے مسلمان تیری خوشبو چاهئیے*

Turning now to the moral results achieved by Islam in Africa, we find, in the first place, that the new religion has put effectual restrictions on the desolating slave trade. There are some, no doubt, among my hearers this evening who will be astonished at my audacity in making the above statement, seeing that Islam has all along been condemned by "competent critics" for giving the traffic in slaves a religious sanction, and "consecrating" it for all ages to come. With all due deference, however, to the authority of these learned non-Muslim writers, I may venture to say that the correct view of the case is substantially opposed to the generally received opinion among the Western nations, who, regardless

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* "Of what use is more colourfulness in a garden
The Garden of Faith needs your fragrance, O Musalman !"

of historic truth, invariably associate the institution of slavery with the Muhammadan religion. That this is no dogmatic assertion will appear from Christian gentlemen to whom we are so much indebted for fair and unbiassed statements of leading facts as to the progress of Islam among the Negro tribes.

"It has been argued by some of your correspondents," says Mr. Thomson, in his letter to the *Times* to which I have already referred, "that in Eastern Africa and the Nile basin you see Islam in its true colours in congenial association with the slave trade and all forms of degradation and violence. A more baseless statement could not be conceived. I unhesitatingly affirm—and I speak from a wider experience of Eastern Central Africa than any of your correspondents possess—that if the slave trade thrives, it is because Islam has not been introduced to these regions, and for the strongest of all reasons, that the spread of Muhammadanism would have meant the concomitant suppression of the slave trade. Islam is not preached to the Negro because the Muscat Arabs desire to retain their slave hunting grounds. To do otherwise would have been to hail the natives as brother Musalmans where they hoped to capture slaves. In the same way many of our Christian traders, you may rest assured, would resist most strenuously the introduction of missionaries of their religion into their trading ground, if it was not found that the profession of Christianity among the natives was not incompatible with a large consumption of gin. It is sometimes convenient however to confound a people with their religion—when it does not come too near home."

Of this view of the case Mr. Thomson is not the sole supporter. "The introduction of Islam into central and west Africa," says Dr. Blyden, "has been the most important, if not the sole preservative, against the desolations of the slave trade. Muhammadanism furnished a protection to the tribes who embraced it by effectually binding them together in one strong religious fraternity and enabling them by their united effort to baffle the attempts of powerful Pagan slave-hunters."

These authorities are conclusive on the point, but even apart from the incontrovertible statements just quoted, I for one really fail to see how modern European critics can, without being guilty of gross partiality or wilful ignorance of facts, fasten the serious charge of countenancing and perpetuating the slave-trade on Islam. To those unacquainted with the past history of slavery as a social institution, from the early days of the Roman Republic down to recent times, when the civilised American States fought bitterly for the retention of their slaves, this count in the stereotyped indictment against the much reviled religion of the Muslims may appear plausible, and one perhaps which calls for a serious defence. The reason obviously is that in the comprehensive code of practical rules framed by the Prophet and his immediate successors for regulating the moral and social conduct of man, with special regard to existing institutions and human interests, slavery occupies a very large place, and is dealt with as a vital element in the social constitution of mankind. Nowhere has Prophet Muhammad sanctioned or 'consecrated' the status of slavery as a permanent human necessity, in the sense in which civilised nations of antiquity recognised it, or even mentioned it with approval as acceptable to God. As a moral Teacher and social Legislator, he marked slavery as then forming part of the Law of Nations; he took note of the inhuman cruelties inflicted on the dumb and down-trodden slave, in whom humanity spoke with the same voice as it did in him; he thought of inspiring "the animated but fallen dust" with life, ease, and joy, of raising him to the level of a being with rights as well as duties; and devised elaborate means for his ultimate emancipation. Muhammad is not to be blamed for perpetuating slavery in all its degraded forms, because forsooth he enjoined his followers to hail the slave as a man and a brother; because he insisted on the master forgiving the slave who displeases him no less than seventy times a day; because he positively prohibits the enslaving of believers, and commands the manumission of slaves by way of atoning for a number of sins; and lastly because speaking of slaves he preaches to

God's wide world in terms like these : "See that ye feed them with such food as ye eat yourselves, and clothe them with the dress ye yourselves wear, for they are the servants of the Lord and are not to be tormented !" A preacher who deeply moved by the sight of a sorely-stricken mass of humanity, raises his thundering voice against the piled-up iniquities of selfish world and claims for the week slave a substantial measure of equality with the strong, is gravely spoken of by well-informed and candid critics in Europe as the perpetrator of a deadly sin against mankind ! Were it not beside my purpose this evening, I could show by reference to undeniable matters of fact that have passed into history, that our esteemed brethren the followers of Christ (who in obedience, shall I say, to their great Saviour's precept and example, always seem inclined to perform a meritorious service to their religion by taking the most uncharitable view of Muhammad and his mission) are in the matter of the slave trade decidedly more responsible to humanity than the back-sliding followers of the Arabian Teacher. Turn over the pages of Bancroft's *History of the United States*, and you will there find the small beginnings and rapid development of the gigantic traffic in Indian and Negro slaves that was carried on and strenuously defended by the most eminent Christian divines under the protection of the foremost Christian nations of the civilised world.

"Between 1688 and 1700 the English exported three hundred thousand slaves from Africa,"—"England having the *exclusive privilege* under a contract with Spain, of transporting Negroes into the Spanish West Indies at the rate of 4800 a year." "Between 1700 and 1786 the English imported into the island of Jamaica alone 6,10,000 slaves, while great numbers died on the passage." What would you think of the thousands of minor proprietors of Negro slaves when men like "the distinguished William Penn, the Rev. George Whitefield, and President Edwards, author of several standard works on theology, were slave-holders" ? And was it of their own free will that the impoverished Negroes accepted the services of their wealthy Christian owners ? No. "The

usual method of obtaining slaves in Africa," we are told, "was to attack a village at night. Guns were discharged, and if deemed needful to increase the confusion, the village would be set on fire. Then as the wretched inhabitants were flying naked from the flames they were seized and carried away, any one offering resistance being shot."

The bereaved exiles, with bleeding wounds, thus cruelly torn from a life of ease and wild freedom, thousands of miles away from their homes, were then forced to toil as lifeless bondsmen, with no will of their own, for the good of the white man, whom a merciful God had ordained to rule over the darker races of mankind. For three hundred years there flowed incessantly from east to west "that *blood-red* stream" of slavery which through the noble exertions of indefatigable slave-hunters has fertilised the American soil, and brought ease and plenty to a vast Christian land. And what did eminent Christian divines think of this traffic in human beings which is now so loudly condemned by the combined voice of religion and civilisation? "Generations descending from Huguenot and Puritan ancestry," says Dr. Blyden, "were trained to believe that God had endowed them with the right to enslave the Africans for ever. And upon those Africans who became members of the Christian church, the idea was impressed that it was their duty to submit in everything to their masters. Christian divines of all shades of opinion in the South taught this doctrine, and embodied it in books prepared specially for the instruction of the slaves—their 'oral instruction, for they were not allowed to learn to read.' In support of his statement Dr. Blyden quotes from a book of sermons &c. published for masters and slaves by the Right Rev. William Meade, Bishop of Virginia. On pages 94 and 95 the bishop addresses the slaves thus :—

"Almighty God hath been pleased to make you slaves here, and to give you nothing but labour and poverty in this world, which you are obliged to submit to as it is His will that it should be so ; your bodies you know are not your own ; they are at the disposal of those you belong to &c."

And on page 132 :—

"When correction is given you, you either deserve it or you do not deserve it. But whether you really deserve it or not, it is your duty, and Almighty God requires that you bear it patiently or, suppose you are quite innocent of what is laid to your charge, and suffer wrongfully in that particular thing, is it not possible you may have done some other bad thing which was never discovered, and that Almighty God, who saw you doing it would not let you escape without punishment one time or another ?"

But far more astounding than the above are the remarks on this subject of General Hammond in his *Letters to Clarkson :*

"I firmly believe," says the General, "that American slavery is not only not a sin but especially commanded by God himself through Moses and approved by Christ through His apostles. I endorse without reserve the much abused sentiment of Governor McDuffie, that 'slavery is the cornerstone of our Republican edifice' ; while I repudiate as ridiculously absurd the dogma that 'all men are born equal.' "

In the face of such practice, and such public utterances as these, proceeding from men in authority supposed to reflect the mind of the nation, is it not rather puzzling to find Islam assailed by otherwise well informed men for having countenanced and "consecrated" the hateful slave trade, when we know that the democratic spirit of Islam never tolerated the dogma of the "inequality of mankind," and that the Prophet in his life time strove to ensure the slaves' happiness by inculcating precepts like these :—A man who behaveth ill to his slave will not enter into paradise ; Forgive thy slave seventy times a day ;—and by setting an example which, had it been consistently followed by his disciples, would made the world purer and happier far than it is now. In the matter of the slave trade we most readily admit the Western Musalmans have for centuries placed the greed of material gain before positive religious injunctions, and have transgressed the moral law without just excuse. But "the example and precept of Muhammad are at one on this head."

and it argues a rather mischievous lack of charity to confound a religion with its weak-kneed professors, and to quote their sins against the system and its large-hearted Founder. In Africa, as I have said before, Islam is busy suppressing the traffic in slaves. To the authority of Mr. Thomson and Dr. Blyden in support of this statement may be added that of Mr. Bosworth Smith. "It is some satisfaction," says he, "to remember that the more Islam spreads over Africa the more the area for slave-hunting is curtailed—for it is forbidden to enslave the true believer—and it is indisputable that the condition of the domestic slave in most Muslim countries is much better than it used to be in most Christian."

Of the remarkable moral victories achieved by Islam in modern Africa, I shall next speak of its invaluable service to the Negro race in proscribing the trade in spirituous liquors, introduced and actively patronized by the Christian nations of the civilised world. "Mungo Park," says Dr. Blyden, "in his travels seventy years ago everywhere remarked the contrast between the Pagan and Muhammadan tribes of interior Africa. One very important improvement noticed by him was *abstinence from intoxicating drinks*. 'The beverage of the Pagan Negroes,' he says, 'is beer and mead of which they often drink to excess. The Muhammadan converts *drink nothing but water*.' Thus throughout Central Africa there has been established a vast *Total Abstinence Society*; and such is the influence of this Society that where there are Muslim inhabitants even in Pagan towns it is a very rare thing to see a person intoxicated. They thus present an almost impenetrable barrier to the desolating flood of ardent spirits with which traders from Europe and America inundate the coast." And at page 80:—"The abstemiousness of Islam is one of its good qualities which we should like Africans to retain, whatever may be the future fortunes of that faith on this continent. The Negro race in their debilitating climate do not possess the hardihood of the North American Indian or of the New Zealander; and under the influence of that apparently inseparable concomitant of European civilisation, they would in a much shorter time

than it has taken the last named races, reach the deplorable distinction of being 'civilised off the face of the earth.' "

Add to this the unimpeachable testimony of Mr. Thomson :

"But while I unhesitatingly affirm that the slave trade flourishes in Eastern Central Africa because Islam is not there, I as confidently assert that this so much reviled religion has done one great service there. It has prevented the spread of liquor traffic. In Zanzibar itself the Sultan has been impotent to arrest the traffic because Christian nations objected to any restriction of trade. Happily, on the mainland he has hitherto been allowed a freer hand in enforcing the rules of his religion, and so done an enormous service in preventing the demoralization of the easily seduced blacks. How long this will last now that Germany's pioneers of civilisation are descending upon the land remains to be seen."

From the above extracts it is clear beyond the possibility of a doubt that Islam has, in all directions, exerted a most wholesome influence over the African races, and effected a real, abiding improvement in the individual and national life of the Negro. The moral, social, political and religious effect produced by the new religion upon a Negro tribe may be summed up in the following words of Dr. Blyden :—

"No one can travel any distance in the interior of West Africa without being struck with the different aspects of society in different localities, according as the population is Pagan or Muhammadan. Not only is there a difference in the methods of Government but in the general regulations of society, and even in the amusements of the people. The love of noisy, terpsichorean performances so noticeable in Pagan communities, disappears as the people come under the influence of Muhammadanism. It is not a fact that 'when the sun goes down, all Africa dances', but it might be a fact if it were not for the influence of Islam. Those who would once have sought pleasure in the excitement of the Tom-tom, now repair five times a day to the mosque, where they spend a quarter of an hour on each occasion in devotional exercises. After the labours of the day they

assemble in groups near the mosque to hear the Quran recited, or the Traditions or some other book read. In traversing the region of country between Sierra Leone and Futah Jallo in 1873, we passed through populous Pagan towns and the transition from these to Muhammadan districts was striking. When we left a Pagan and entered a Muhammadan community, we at once noticed that we had entered a moral atmosphere separated from, and loftier far than, the one we had left. We discovered that the character, feelings, and conditions of the people were profoundly altered and improved."

And to the same effect is the testimony of Mr. Bosworth Smith :—

"But I am persuaded from a vast consensus of testimony which has come to me in ever-increasing volume from native Christian missionaries, whose testimony is not likely to be biassed on the side of Islam, no less than from European travellers and officials, that the moral elevation in an African tribe which accepts Islam is a most marked one."

We may be sure then that Islam is spreading in Africa with a rapid pace,—spreading not with the reputed help of the Muslim sword but all in perfect peace. Into the remote corners of the Dark Continent have at last slowly penetrated the soft beams of the risen Crescent, and the benighted races, struggling out of the deep shadow of primeval savagery, look forward with strained eyes to the approaching dawn. May the onrush of the flowing tide sweep the weighted bark of immobile humanity across the stormy deep to a safe shore, and lead the forlorn hope on to signal victory! Though their night is rayless and its gloom impenetrable, their day, perhaps not far off, may be bright and happy. Islam has done for them what we are told by keen Christian observers no other form of religion has done or can do. It has raised them from the grovelling position of animals to the dignity of man. It has freed them from degrading influences and guided their wandering feet to the right path. It has furnished them with a comprehensive code of practical rules of life, and developed in them the

moral sense, by which they can distinguish between right and wrong. It has created a future for Africa, has brought together the scattered elements of wild races, has focussed into one dominant idea the varied energies of the Negro, and awakened within his breast aspirations, the satisfaction of which will materially add to the sum-total of human happiness in this world. For this noble work so nobly done, we are deeply grateful to those unpaid Muslim missionaries who, disdaining the inviting comforts of sweet home, push their way into the interior of Africa, and through sympathetic intercourse with the Negro, instil simple notions of piety and purity into his receptive mind, sowing in their own humble way the seeds of Ethiopia's moral and spiritual regeneration. We must be thankful to them not only for the remarkable results they have so far achieved in elevating the African to a higher and purer life but also for the glorious example they have thus set us of deep moral earnestness, of lofty aims and firm resolve, of untiring perseverance, of quiet working without hope of earthly reward, of self-forgetful devotion to religious duty. They are the soldiers of an Idea, for the realization of which they fight with weapons keener by far, though softer, than steel. No skilful bard will sing their praises, nor will their names shine, writ large in letters of gold on the pages of history, to the end of time. But the moral elevation of the despised and neglected races of man will live as a fact in the annals of the world, as an eloquent testimonial of the sterling work and worth of these unlettered harbingers of a refined morality and progressive civilization. For us in India too the acceptance of Islam by the swarthy sons of Africa is cause for thankful self-congratulation. To the Muslim world, in which, even under the changed circumstances of modern times, we continue to play by no means an unimportant part, there has been added another continent of unmeasured strength and of great possibilities, where man has yet to use his divine powers, perhaps to quicken into life the dead bones of a paralysed humanity. The sphere of our sympathies has been largely extended, and standing on our Western shores,

washed by the blue waters of the Arabian sea, we Musalmans of India can now wish a hearty *Assalam-o-Alaikum* to those infant races of Africa, whose united voices may one day roll in audible accents across the stormy ocean to their brethren of the East. Well may you rejoice that the great religion which you so reverently follow, which softly flowing with each drop of your mothers' milk has fed your thirsting souls, which has influenced more or less the daily acts of your lives, and at times set vibrating each fibre of your moral natures,—the religion which has created around you an atmosphere in which you live and move and have your being, which has accompanied you from your cradles and would not part with you at your graves, which in moments of earnest and intense introspection has softly entered into, and flowed along your very dreams,—that that same religion is now accepted, reverenced and followed by millions upon millions of human beings under skies and stars, who in the near past were steeped in the grossest superstitions and delighted in sinning against nature and man, who were accustomed, generation after generation, to bend their knees to stocks and stones, who professed no religion and acknowledged no God. It is a glad tidings of great joy,—the rising tide of Islam is sweeping in one unbroken wave across a whole continent over rivers and plains, over hills and vales, and fertilising the virgin soil, where seeds of truth, hope, and charity will soon fructify to enrich the world with an abundant harvest of the elevation of the backward races of man! Yes, glad tidings not for you only but also for those with whom the ultimate good of mankind, in whatever shape and from whatever source, is the sole object in view and of sovereign importance; whose all-embracing sympathies transcend narrow race-limitations and crystallised forms of human creed; who recognise and admire the common element of truth in each prevailing religion and are biassed in favour of none. It is from *this* point of view that I regard the advance of Islam in Africa, and earnestly look forward to hopeful results. It is no part of the mission of Islam, as I understand it, to enter on a death struggle with Christianity,

to encounter it in a spirit of hostility on the Negro soil, and seek to drive it out of the field. Each of these two great systems of Faith is in a way the complement of the other, and between them as such there need be no irreconcileable antagonism, no passage at arms for the exclusive sovereignty of the Negro world. Happily the day of Peter the Hermit and Salahuddin of Syria are gone, and the historic crusades live in men's memory as prominent instances of religious ardour run mad, of which the mention will now provoke a smile or dráw a tear at the innocent blood spilt through the insane folly of stubborn and merciless man of religion. The rapid march of years has brought to our doors the age of Reason, when Musalman and Christian, Jew and Gentile, Hindu and Buddhist can work together in perfect harmony for the moral and social elevation of the world, and then walk on, hand in hand, like confiding brethren, to the great Temple of God into which, we all humbly trust, the virtuous will be allowed to enter without distinction of race, colour or creed. Let this be our guiding principle as it is our faith, and let all true Musalmans in cheerful obedience to the spirit of Islam, think and speak of themselves and Christians as members of the same vast religious Brotherhood of man.

حافظا گر وصل خواهی صلح کن با خاص و عام
با مسلمان الله الله ، با برهمن رام رام*

* For translation of this verse see page 55.

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SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN AND HIS LIBELLERS*

MY attention has just been called to a rather sensational article in a recent issue of a Bengal paper in which the writer, on the authority of what he is pleased to call the "Punjab Urdu Papers", gives out to the world with an amusing flourish of trumpets, "that this year's Educational Conference at Delhi was a miserable farce and yet rather an unfortunate affair. The attendance notwithstanding the efforts of Sir Syed Ahmad to collect a large number of persons, was very poor, *and the proceedings, which were for the most part most objectionable from a Muhammadan point of view, have excited the ire of all true believers in the Punjab to the highest pitch.* It is said that the Conference has become a sort of *mutual admiration society, where the Aligarh leader is praised like a Mughal Emperor,* and where *unwarranted attacks are made on the established tenets of Islam,* as interpreted by the Muhammadans. *All this has excited the Muhammadans of the Punjab so much that they have opened fire from all quarters on the founder of the Conference* and those who took a leading part in it. Attacks are being made from different standpoints, and this controversy is the prevalent theme of the entire Urdu Press in the Punjab."

I have taken the liberty to italicize portions of this extraordinary paragraph, just to show how some of our ingenious Bengali journalists, like the German Philosopher who possessed the enviable art of evolving out of his own inner consciousness the idea of a camel, can make timely use of their telescopic farsightedness to discern among the Punjabi

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* *The Punjab Patriot*, March 27, 1893.

Muhammadans violent outbursts of religious "ire" against the founder of the Conference, of which we on the spot are in blissful ignorance. I know that we Musalmans in the Punjab are, in educational matters, a good deal behind our friends in the Lower Provinces, but have we really become so utterly indifferent to our religion that we require the kind, sympathetic, disinterested help of a Bengal writer, hailing from an obscure corner of Calcutta, to work us up to righteous indignation at "unwarranted attacks made on the established tenets of Islam" at a meeting of the Muhammadan Educational Conference? Our altruistic Bengali friends need scarcely be told that the Muhammadans in this Province have still some little strength left in them to fight their own battles, and that they do not yet feel disposed to request mercenary professionals to do them the honour to pose as their "defenders of the faith," or to lift their sword-pens to repel "unwarranted attacks" made by Muslims on Islam. This omniscient writer may be better acquainted with and predisposed to be more easily moved by indignation at any attacks on the "established tenets of Islam" than the Musalmans in this part of the country; but even the most ignorant amongst us would very much prefer to be left alone and be allowed to judge for ourselves whether, and by whom, Islam has in any way been assailed, rather than have to depend upon kindly advices from a learned Qazi of Bengal. Deeply thankful to you indeed, Sir, for this unprecedented demonstration of sympathy with the Punjab Muslim community at a time when their religion is being attacked by a learned Conference composed of their leaders, but pray, Sir, such sympathies may kindly be reserved for a better occasion, for just now the debt of obligation would perhaps be far too heavy for the poor Musalmans in this Province to incur. The wonder is, not that the writer should have penned such an article, brimful of glaring misstatements of facts, but that he should have had the boldness—I was almost going to say the audacity—to support his sweeping propositions on the authority of what he calls the "Punjab Urdu Papers," without even so much as naming a single

recognised organ of public opinion in the Punjab. I should not at all be surprised if the writer was unable even to pronounce the names of the leading Punjab Urdu Papers, or to understand the language of hieroglyphics in which they are written; but such is the marvellous power of journalism that on the seemingly irresistible strength of mere "airy nothings", our inventive friend has strung together a series of astounding misrepresentations as to the supposed hostile attitude of Punjabi Muhammadans towards their own Educational Conference. The feeling throughout the Punjab in favour of the Conference and the educational policy of its chief promoters is just now so unwavering and strong, and the leading Punjabi Musalman gentlemen have thrown themselves so heartily into the movement, that the writer need only step into this Province to laugh at his own pleasing delusion, which is nonetheless misleading because it is begotten of a willing heart and a heat-oppressed brain. A master of crisp and curt repartees and sententious sayings is not always a proper judge of truth, especially in cases where information is to be gathered through more or less coloured and unintelligible media respecting a far-off Indian Province. If sensational news had to be gathered from the Punjab Urdu Papers, which the writer has evidently not felt inclined to read, the safest course would have been to seek it in connection with a subject on which the writer was less likely to be laughed at and contradicted by persons with a local and accurate knowledge of facts which it always requires a marked departure from journalistic honesty to distort. Unfortunately for our Calcutta friend, all Punjabi Muhammadans whose opinion is in any way worth having, from the aristocratic Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore, which from the number, influence, and social position of its members has from the date of its foundation, thirty years ago, all along been recognised by the people and the Government as being the leading Anjuman in the Punjab, and the Young Men's Muhammadan Association, with its more than one hundred graduate and undergraduate members, representing the intellect and the education of the rising generation of

the community, down to the ultra-orthodox members of the Central Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam at Lahore, and of its various branches throughout the Province, all these are unanimously in favour of the Conference: and not one representative Muhammadan gentleman of influence has raised his little finger against the character of its proceedings. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Maulvi Nazir Ahmad, Maulvi Altaf Hussain and other active promoters of the Conference are deeply respected by Musalmans of all shades of opinion in the Punjab for their noble self-sacrifices in vigorously advancing the cause of Muhammadan education. The Conference is a purely secular gathering like the Bengali National Conference, and at its meetings the discussion of religious subjects is scrupulously excluded. The shrewd Punjabi Musalmans know this too well to be inflamed by interested writings, and knowing this they view with unqualified and hearty approval the proceedings of this annual gathering of Musalmans from different parts of India with a view to considering how best to ensure the educational well-being of their community. Each year accurate minutes of these proceedings containing verbatim reports of discussions are published for information and criticism, and each succeeding year witnesses a material addition to the strength of this popular assembly. These are not mere vague counter assertions made for the purpose of meeting the animadversions of an opponent. They are concrete statements of fact, of which the accuracy can easily be tested by a reference to the published reports of the proceedings of the Educational Conference ever since its organisation in 1886, and to the "Punjab Urdu Papers" from which only our ingenious Bengali critic knows how to "gather" information which is beyond the reach of Urdu-knowing English journalists in this Province. "That this year's Educational Conference at Delhi was a miserable farce" is a wonderful after-revelation, which has taken more than two months to dawn upon our prophet-journalist, and which, on the authority of perhaps some half-inspired, insane obscurantist in our midst, he has hastened to proclaim to the credulous and the unwary. Ac-

cording to Bengal notions it may doubtless be a piece of very prompt criticism, conceived in a spirit of justice and fairness in every way worthy of praise; but to us in the Punjab it looks rather like angrily kicking back at an institution of which the success has grown on our jealous friend as a moral certainty. For this once at least, I wish our otherwise respectable critic had been in good company, and had not had to lean on the borrowed crutches of one or two miserable penny-a-liners in the Punjab, for strengthening hollow inventions which carry their own clear refutation with them. Such plausible creations of perverted fancy, clothed in bright language, may for a time mislead those whose wish is always father to the thought; but in sober and practical Punjab, the preachings of Baboo Qazia from Calcutta will fall on rather inhospitable ground and bear the least expected fruit. It may perhaps interest this Bengal journalist to know if indeed he does not know this much already that his Punjab contemporaries, *The Tribune* and *The Patriot*, with a fuller and far more accurate knowledge of facts than it has fallen to his lot to procure, have, unlike his inspired self, refused to be led by the nose in their estimate of popular Muhammadan feeling in the Punjab with regard to the Conference, and have lately administered a timely and telling castigation to a self-important, impertinent scribbler in the local vernacular press, who is disgracefully defaming the respected Sir Syed and his followers, and whose overweening conceit and supercilious audacity, aided by his piqued pride and mortifying humiliation, have secured the ear of a sympathetic friend from Bengal.

I wish I had time and space to comment more fully on the astounding fabrications which the writer of the article, apparently in all sober earnestness, has laboured to erect into infallible gospel truth. In spite of an artful use of serviceable journalistic hypocrisy, it is impossible to mistake the motive which is really at the bottom of this over-ingenious production and even at this distance the Punjabi Muhammadan can easily mark the source from which the inspiration proceeds. Suffice it to say that we in the Punjab have once for all

spoken out our mind with a consensus of opinion that will at last silence a solitary detractor or two of the Founder of the Educational Conference, and having thus spoken out we shall treat with contempt any further attempts to ask the Musalman community here, under cover of false sympathy, to qualify their confidence in the effective guidance of their trusted Leader. The Anjuman-i-Islamia, the Young Men's Muhammadan Association, the Central Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, the Anjuman-i-Numania, and the leading Musalman gentlemen of Lahore, lately assembled at a very largely attended and representative public meeting, have reaffirmed their hearty approval of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's educational policy, and have pledged themselves to promote, more actively than ever, the common cause of the Conference.

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THE EDUCATION OF MUSALMANS IN THE PUNJAB

THE paper which I have undertaken to read before you this evening* is mainly the outcome of an idea I conceived some time ago of forming, if possible, a fairly reliable estimate of the extent to which the Punjab Muhammadans have availed themselves of the modern system of instruction as in vogue in the existing educational institutions on our side of the country. To the circumstances under which that idea was conceived, I will have to allude later on in the course of these pages. In the meantime it is as well that we should take note of a significant fact in the history of the progress of ideas among the Muhammadans in the Punjab. Of recent years Muhammadan public opinion in that Province, in conformity with a general awakening among the Musalmans all over India, has taken a decided bent in favour of initiating an organised movement directed towards making amends for our past neglect in the matter of education, in order that, under favourable circumstances, our community might successfully strive to regain some of the lost ground, and, by a judicious readjustment of its forces, perhaps enable itself to keep abreast of the progressive times. This welcome fact need not come upon us as a surprise. The Muhammadan mind, though admittedly it has lost much of its national warmth under the chilling influences of adverse fortune has at last, it appears, caught something of the spirit of the age; and, under proper guidance, may one day hope to grapple effectively with the deeper problems of national life. Men of light and

* A Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Muhammadan Educational Conference at Aligarh on 28-12-1893. (Published in the *Punjab Magazine*, January 1894).

learning amongst us in the Punjab have for the last twenty years, as occasion arose, done their duty to the common cause by endeavouring to direct towards one object the scattered energies of the community, until, very recently, we have seen compressed with almost unskilful hands within the compass of a few years the tedious work of a lifetime. This last achievement, though it claims but a humble origin, and has as yet no very startling results to show, marks in the Muhammadan Punjab the dawn of a new era.

The broad question of Muhammadan education in some of its more important bearings was almost forced upon my mind by an event which, though it was not destined to bear full fruit, has yet left its mark, for good or for evil, on the educational policy of the Musalmans in the Punjab. In the year 1891 it occurred to two public-spirited Muhammadan gentlemen in the Punjab Judicial Service to addresss a formal appeal to the leading members of their community all over the Province, solemnly invoking their support towards the establishment of a Muhammadan College at Lahore under the auspices of the Central Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, which, it was said, had so far managed with admirable skill its Madrasatul-Muslimin and had shown a workable capability for more serious undertakings. This appeal, having been issued from influential quarters, and associated, as it was, with the name of a more or less popular religious Society, naturally elicited at least a verbal response, which must have let its sanguine authors to entertain definite hopes of its ultimate success. This, however, for obvious reasons, the appeal failed to achieve. In the first place, the Punjab Muhammadans, even if they were sufficiently rich as a community, are certainly not so over-generous or over-zealous in the matter of their own education as to be ready almost at a moment's notice with liberal contributions in support of an experiment hardly suggested, in the estimation of some lay people, by imperative national necessity; and in the second place, some thoroughly well-intentioned persons were found honestly prepared to veto the proposal

on its merits, as being more or less of the nature of a premature and, perhaps, ill-considered scheme. The immediate object failed ; but the appeal did a good service to the cause of Muhammadan education in the Punjab by affording occasion for a calm and careful consideration of the pros and cons of the difficult problem which forms the subject matter of my paper this evening.

Bold schemes of the nature of the proposal I have just referred to are, apart from any considerations of intrinsic merit and feasibility, frequently of some value, in so far as they tend to work up the national mind to a certain pitch of serviceable enthusiasm, and seldom fail to set a small number of persons thinking on subjects necessarily outside the sphere of popular comprehension. A very large number of respectable Muhammadans amongst us, prompted, no doubt, by a genuine love of Islam, saw in the recently established Khalsa College at Amritsar and the fairly flourishing Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore two living examples of concerted action and national self-help, of which the inspiring lesson was clear as day to those that could stir ; and naturally most of them were indignant at the men who were too cautious to advance further without feeling sure of every inch of the ground that lay before them. Diversity of opinion soon resulted in the taking up of sides by men who were prone to be partisans, and the fairly debatable question of the proposed establishment of a Muhammadan College at Lahore found its way eventually into the public press. The discussion was neither sound nor exhaustive, as party considerations and local interests came into play and prevented the dispassionate presentation of uncoloured facts, on which, with reference to the balance of convenience and the existing educational needs of the community, a reliable judgment could be based. But though the controversy was so far barren of any practical results, it served to direct some thoughtful minds to the general subject of Muhammadan education in the Punjab, of which it then became needful to take a comprehensive view, in order to determine definitively whether our existing public

schools and colleges, and the system of instruction in vogue there, did not meet the requirements of the Punjab Muhammadans as a community ; and, if so, whether any, and what, steps should be taken to ensure their educational well-being. Whatever may have been the conclusions at which some other thoughtful minds arrived in their honest endeavours to solve a real difficulty, the members of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam of Lahore soon chalked out their own course of action ; and thinking that in themselves they embodied the reasoned will of the awakened Musalman community, they once for all undertook the responsibility of guiding the destinies of succeeding generations by laying the foundation-stone, in May 1892, of their own Muhammadan College, of which, however, more hereafter.

The subject of Muhammadan education is undoubtedly at present one of great practical importance ; and as it is generally believed—and, I think, believed on good grounds—that the comparative backwardness of Musalmans all over India in most departments of human activity is in one sense chiefly the result of their past indisposition to take proper advantage of the educational facilities offered by the British Government to the people of this country, the time, I think has certainly come for us to clearly grasp the situation, to calculate our strength, to economise our resources, and to initiate definite, workable measures to place the education of our community on a sound footing. This is, I believe, at the present time the one great national desideratum with the Indian Musalman, and to this our available national energies must be entirely devoted. The gravity of our situation becomes all the more marked when we consider that, on the one hand, the India of to-day, being in the transitional stage of its progress, is advancing at a rate almost too rapid for the minorities ; and that, on the other, the foreign government of the country, being necessarily pledged to hold the balance evenly among the diverse native races, is powerless, even if it had the will to lift up a community like ours, struggling under the dead weight of adverse circumstances, to the level of an active and progressive

majority. The remedy, no doubt, lies in self-help combined with timely encouragement and sufficient assistance from without; but you must look chiefly to the national element in the remedy if you want to cure the national disease. The community must heal itself if it wishes to be healed at all. On this view it is some consolation to find that the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh, nursed under the fostering care of its distinguished Founder, under whose hospitable roof we are gathered together this evening, has set to the Indian Musalmans an example of self-help as brilliant as it is rare,—an example which it ought to be our highest ambition and pride to seek to imitate in other parts of the country. Enthusiasm displayed in national undertakings is seldom without its wholesome contagion; and it is, therefore, satisfactory to note that the inspiring lesson which this noble edifice—an imperishable monument of the unspeakable industry and perseverance of an earnest mind—is meant to convey to a fallen race has already begun to bear some desirable fruit. We may be a paralysed nation, with little power for a forward movement, but we are not so wholly dead as to be incapable of benefiting by a supply of new blood in our veins. This magnificent College presents to Muhammadan India a high ideal of individual exertion, of mutual co-operation, and of noble self-reliance, which is best fitted to call forth the dormant energies of the nation, and which carries our thoughts back to the early days of Islam, when activity, enterprise, and a restless desire for progress were with the ardent Musalmans, as it were, the article of their faith. It is difficult to overestimate the power which such ideals exert on the evolution of national life; and the higher the ideal, of which realization is earnestly sought because it can be achieved, the greater the exertions of the national will to give it the shape of a living reality. Whatever may have been the net results, with reference to national progress, of the educational methods of work pursued in the Aligarh College, of this we may be sure that the seed of which this College is only a visible sidegrowth has not fallen upon stony ground; and that the great princi-

ple of autonomy in education has begun taking root among the thinking portion of the Musalman community in this country. The chief centres of Muhammadan activity in various parts of India already exhibit encouraging signs of a growing desire to carry this principle into practice ; and if what the Musalmans have done in the past can be an index of what they will be able to do in the future, it may, I think, be safely affirmed that the prospects of our private educational enterprise in India are by no means gloomy. We have, in fact, nearly awakened to the needs of the times. Though the community may not have been able so far to give national expression to its wants, it has recognised its exponents in a small band of devoted men, who, being the creatures of circumstances, as leaders of thought always are, incarnate the spirit and tone of the age, and, knowing the genius and capabilities of the nation, are able to guide its energies into proper channels. In all large movements requiring organic skill and a power for the adaptation of means to an end, with a knowledge of surroundings and their varying influence on national life, the masses are concentrated, as it were, into their leaders, whose sole credentials are their unsparing efforts to promote the common cause, and whose consentient voice is, therefore, the voice of the people. On this view the Muhammadan Educational Conference is another proof of our common desire to bring to the solution of national difficulties the efficient method of helping ourselves out of them by cultivating a spirit of self-adaptation and self-reliance in all points where national life comes into contact with the procrustean environments of the modern age. I regard this Conference as an earnest of national co-operation in all future national undertakings, and as only a bare attempt at the part-performance of a duty we all owe to the helpless, grovelling millions who have silently entrusted their destinies into our hands. We have, indeed, undertaken a serious responsibility by inaugurating this movement ; and we have yet to show that the nation can reasonably expect a harvest of really good results from our operations. I do not say that the

deliberations of this Assembly in past years have not been of great value to the Indian Musalmans because they cannot yet be measured in concrete accomplished facts which we can handle and dissect and classify. In a community circumstanced like ours, valuable thought, in the shape of distinct propositions agreed to by a body of thinking men of various shades of opinion, must for a time precede all useful action, if only to enable us to sound the popular feeling and educate the nation into a frame of mind favourable to the generous reception of a national scheme. It is also, in a sense, true to say that this Conference is and must be more of the nature of a deliberative than an executive body, and that we cannot safely attempt the taking up of onerous functions with hands unequal to the task. All this is perfectly true ; but in spite of all this, it is difficult to resist the suspicion that hitherto our methods of procedure have been rather of academical interest than of much practical benefit to the community, and that our chief work throughout has been to feed a starving nation on a diet of tasteful Resolutions. Surely our meetings are not meant to be those of a Debating Society, with the main object of brushing up one's knowledge of books and cultivating powers of speech. Nor do I conceive our primary aim to be the promotion of mere social intercourse, however desirable in itself, among Muhammadan gentlemen coming from distant parts of the land. We have, doubtless, a voluminous record of what we have thought and said to one another when assembled on seven different occasions to legislate for the nation. But how many pages out of the published reports of our proceedings can we single out, and honestly say that they measure the ground over which, through the help of the deliberations therein contained, the nation has educationally advanced? Every one of our principal Resolutions remains to this day a perfect dead letter, and there are no indications that we, as a body, ever seriously think of following them up by any determined and united action. When the Conference held its sitting at Lahore in December 1888, no less than eighteen Resolutions were passed almost unanimously by the mem-

bers, of which at least seven Resolutions,—and especially the first three,—were of the greatest practical importance to the Musalman community in Northern India. But what shall be the reply when it is asked: 'What steps have we taken, so far, to ensure that those Resolutions should be acted upon in a business-like manner, and that we should practise the magnificent precepts which we have so laboriously preached? We might have remained content with mere abstract discussions if the points involved had been of purely speculative interest relating to politics or theology; but as it is we claim to deal with educational questions of serious import, bearing directly on the moral and material condition of the Muhammadan masses,—a task, burdensome and self-imposed, which clearly points out to us the plain path of duty. We in the Punjab have no doubt shown some commendable eagerness in endorsing the Conference programmes, and have contributed our full share of suggestions to the large stock of Conference literature. But have we during these seven years even attempted anything, in furtherance of our well-conceived opinions on paper, to push the educationally backward classes amongst us a whit beyond the deplorable position they occupied before? The sins of this lamentable apathy and suicidal inaction are not to be fastened upon the heads of those to whose ripened experience, foresight, and shrewd, practical sagacity we owe this most useful Conference. It is we alone who are really to blame: we, the Punjab Muhammadans, whose fondness for elegant talk is only excelled by our constitutional indisposition to translate that talk into some practical step calculated to promote the national weal. We need scarcely be told that glossy Resolutions have never yet made a nation great: they are mere good intentions which, with a nation as with an individual, might pave the way to a rather uncomfortable place. With all our pathetic wailings for national misfortunes and melodramatic zeal to advance the common cause, have we in the Punjab, by the help and in the spirit of these Resolutions, done for Muhammadan education even one-half of what has been accomplished before our eyes by the fifty-

eight Jubilee Scholarships established for the Muhammadans by the Punjab Government? If we have not, then with good reason let us be heartily ashamed of the astounding disproportion between our loud professions and the deeds we have done; and either cease shedding crocodile tears over our sad educational deficiencies in the Punjab, or step forward manfully to put our shoulders to the wheel.

We have also to remember that our primary object, as I take it to be, in joining this Conference, is to promote Western education among the Musalmans as distinguished from instruction in Oriental Languages and Arts; and that this object can only be gained by inducing the Musalmans in all parts of India to take up the study of English with almost the same eagerness with which they take to the cultivation of Arabic and Persian. It is doubtless true that whatever may be the attitude of other Indian communities towards the English tongue, with us, the Indian Musalmans, it can never become the language of our literature, much less of our homes. But being the mother-tongue of the ruling classes, it is already the official language of the whole of India; and its knowledge, therefore, has become almost the only passport to influence in the country. For this reason, if for no other, we must reconcile ourselves to Western culture through the medium of English, and give it the most prominent place in our scheme of studies for national education.

The very first question before this Conference in regard to the promotion of Muhammadan education, as indeed in all important movements, is: How shall we set to work? The first requisite, no doubt, is for us to define our sphere of action, keeping our primary objects and aims always in view, and to see that we devote to their attainment all our available energies in a way which should leave no doubt that we mean to attain them. The second step would be gained by gathering accurate and, in all cases, detailed information as to the precise extent to which Muhammadan education has progressed in each part of the country, as compared with the education of other sections of the popu-

lation ; and as to the nature of the causes, general and special or local, which in each Province and in each district of the Province have retarded or accelerated the progress of that education. The third step would be the crowning effort of devising ways and means to carry into execution such measures as, on the information so gained, may seem fit to be adopted in order to remove the educational disqualifications of the community. In regard to the collection of reliable information as to the existing strength of Muhammadan education in each Province on which to base our subsequent action, I cannot do here more than make a few necessarily crude suggestions in a tabular form, which may be more fully developed hereafter.

THE EDUCATIONAL STRENGTH OF THE MUSALMANS IN INDIA

Provincial Statistics.

(A) The number of literate Musalmans in the Province,—that is, those able to read and write, with details as below :—

I. Vernacular education, acquired either by private indigenous instruction or by regular school instruction of the modern type—

(a) The number of Musalmans able to read—

1. The Koran only, with or without translation.	Rote learning.
2. Persian and Urdu, or any other vernacular of India.	

(b) Those able to write Persian or Arabic character or any Indian character.

(c) Those knowing other subjects through the medium of either of these languages.

II. English Education—

(a) The number of Musalmans knowing English only

(b) Those knowing other subjects through the medium of English.

III. The number of Musalmans who have passed—

1. Primary School or Middle School Examination.
2. Entrance or Matriculation Examination.
3. Any University Examination.

(B) The number of Musalmans under instruction in the Province—

I. In purely Indigenous Schools (Maktabs), with the number of schools and scholars in each district and in each tehsil or pargana of the district, and with details as in A, I.

II. In Public Institutions—

(a) The number of Colleges and Schools in the Province and in each district of the Province—

1. Mixed Colleges and Schools,—Government, Aided, and Unaided.
2. Pure Muhammadan Colleges and Schools.

(b) The number of Musalman scholars in the Province and in each district of the Province—

1. In colleges imparting University Education.
2. In Middle and High Schools (Secondary Education).
3. In Primary Schools (Primary Education).
4. In Schools and Colleges for Technical or Special Education.

(In each case with their proportion to other communities).

(c) The proportion of Musalman scholars in each district—

1. To total Muhammadan population. } In that district.
2. To total population of all creeds. }

(d) The relative numerical strength of Muhammadan scholars in each district, with reference to Muhammadan population, in the four stages of education as given in (b).

(C) Obstacles to Muhammadan education, external and internal—

1. Common to the whole of India.

2. Peculiar to each Province and to each district of the Province ; e.g., religious or social prejudice, indifference, want of provision for religious instruction, difficulties in the way of getting into the public service, poverty, menial occupation, &c.
3. How long and among what class of people each of these opposing forces has been at work ; and how far it has retarded the progress of Muhammadan education in India, in each Province and in each district of the Province.

(D) The consideration and adoption of the ways and means, with reference to the general and local circumstances of the community, by which those obstacles can be removed ; e.g.—

1. The removal of social and religious prejudices by public preaching and other means.
2. The use of active stimulants to education in the shape of special scholarships, prizes, medals, &c.
3. The establishment of Muhammadan School and Colleges, &c.

In the above statement, which is necessarily imperfect, I have contented myself with briefly pointing out the main headings under which the available statistics on Muhammadan education may be conveniently arranged. I am glad to find that at the last meeting of the Conference Mr. Beck offered some practical suggestions on similar lines, and advocated the creation of a special statistical section in connection with the Conference, which, if properly organized and worked on business principles, will, I doubt not, breathe life into this body, and go a great way to achieve the object we have in view. Long before this, I must confess I have had my misgivings as to the practical usefulness and ultimate success of this Conference, having regard to the quality of actual work done by you in the past ; and certainly while I was in England, a perusal of the reports of your proceedings led me to doubt very much if the Conference was proceeding in the main on right lines. I thought then, as I think now, that Resolutions in general terms on educational ques-

tions should, if possible, come after and not precede, accurate, detailed, and well-digested information on the existing condition of Muhammadan education in all parts of India, so that the Conference may be in a position to generalize on the basis of tangible facts and figures, and may avoid committing itself to misleading deductions which, if clothed in practical action, may do the community more harm than good.

When the report of the last year's Conference was put into my hands, I was rather amused to find that a very broad proposition had been laid down by the members of the Conference, to the effect that Musalman students in public institutions are, as a rule, deficient in Mathematics, and that, therefore, as a remedial measure, instruction in that subject ought to be made compulsory in the early years of every Musalman pupil. The proposition may be a very wise one, but whether it embodies a correct statement of fact may be left to individual conjecture. The speech of the proposer throws considerable light on the spirit in which this Resolution was conceived, and I shall be the last person to quarrel with the data, unfortunately not to be discovered in the speech. on which he bases his important conclusion. He has on his side his fourteen years' experience as a teacher in Mathematics, which enable him to say "on solemn affirmation" (ایماناً شہادت دیتا ہوں) that 99 per cent. of Musalman boys are deficient in the subject he teaches ; and further that even in University examinations they always obtain less marks, and fail in larger numbers in Mathematics than (I suppose) their class-fellows of other creeds. That this fourteen years' experience in Middle School in a particular district of the Punjab may be the reliable epitome of universal experience throughout that Province, and perhaps all over Northern India, I shall not presume to deny ; but I should certainly say that from a handful of Musalman boys in a Gujrat Mission School to the Musalman scholars in all the educational establishments in the Punjab, the step, if not absolutely startling, is a truly heroic one. And the wonder is, not that such inductive reasoning should have been

attempted by a member at a meeting of the Conference but that the Conference, as a learned body, should have solemnly pinned its faith on that induction absolutely without the semblance of an enquiry into the supposed facts which are said to warrant the conclusion. The question is of such a nature that a discussion of it on mere *a priori* principles would be generally misleading; and the safest and surest course in such cases is, therefore, to resort to the arbitration of facts and figures, which are the best correctives to vague, indefinable impression and feeling. As to actual experience in this matter, we have, on the other side, the high authority of Mr. T. C. Lewis, M.A.,* formerly Professor of Mathematics in the Lahore Government College, who, I am credibly informed, deposed in his evidence before the Education Commission, or more probably before the Public Service Commission, that his experience as a Professor certainly did not lead him to the conclusion that Musalman students were in Mathematics in any way behind their Hindu brethren. After this assurance, the exaggeration about the percentage of Muhammadan boys supposed to be deficient in Mathematics should have come with better grace from a poet than

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* In a letter recently addressed to my friend Syed Khurshid Anwar, B.A., Mr. Lewis says:—

"Some of the best students of Mathematics that I met with in the Government College were Muhammadans, and the University B.A. lists will show you that your co-religionists, although weak in numbers, are strong in mental power in that they have often won the highest places, not merely in Mathematics but in the general class-lists.

I might add that in other public axaminations held by Government for the filling up of important posts I have found that Muhammadan candidates have generally distinguished themselves in Mathematics, the subject in which it has been my duty from time to time to act as Examiner.

I do not consider that there is any ground for holding that the Muhammadan intellect is inferior to that of Hindus. But when Muhammadans are in such a minority in our schools and colleges, people suppose, in the absence of any definite information on the point, that this is due to their intellects not being able to compete with the sharper intellects of the Hindus. This is, I think, a mistake; and the backwardness from which you suffer is not in quality but in quantity.

from the proposer of a Resolution.

I have alluded to this Resolution of the Conference by way of illustrating my meaning, and I repeat that it is of the utmost consequence to us and to the community we have undertaken to serve, that accurate statistical information relating to all branches of Muhammadan education should be collected, if possible in all parts of India; and that our Resolutions should be based on the reliable knowledge thus gained. It was for this reason, among others, that I formulated for myself, some three years ago, the scheme which I have ventured to lay before you for your consideration this evening.

Taking, then, for my guide the tabular statement given above, I proceed, first of all, to give a few select abstracts from the last Punjab Census Report for 1891, with brief remarks by the Census Commissioner, which taken together give one a fair idea of the progress of education among the Muhammadans in the Punjab :—

Total population in the British territory in the Punjab	20,866,847.
Muhammadans	11,634,192.
Hindus	7 millions (about)
Sikhs	1,389,934.

(In the British territory Muhammadanism, instead of increasing 10.7 per cent., like the population at large, has increased only 10.6 per cent., between 1881 and 1891).

ABSTRACT No. I

Showing the territorial distribution of the religions, i.e., the percentage of followers of each religion in each tract on the total followers of that religion.

TRACT *	HINDUS	SIKHS	MUHAMMADANS
Hill Tracts	15.25	.23	.37
Submontane and Central	37.80	72.22	40.98
Eastern Plains . .	38.25	21.47	10.01
Western Plains . .	6.40	2.83	25.78
Salt Range Tract. .	2.33	3.25	27.06

ABSTRACT No. II

Showing the composition of the population by religion for each district.

DISTRICT.	PERCENTAGE ON TOTAL POPULATION OF ALL RELIGIONS.		
	Musalmans.	Hindus.	Sikhs.
Hissar	25.65	70.73	2.85
Rohtak	14.48	84.67	.03
Gurgaon	31.38	68.03	.02
Delhi	23.45	75.01	.06
Karnal	25.11	73.10	1.18
Ambala	29.11	61.05	9.07
Simla	16.02	75.80	1.16
Kangra	5.20	93.78	.19
Hoshiarpur	32.49	60.39	6.99
Jullundur	45.56	41.97	12.21
Ludhiana	34.94	42.86	21.83
Ferozepore	45.67	28.44	25.53
Multan	79.81	19.43	.45
Jhang	78.84	20.24	.90
Montgomery	72.45	24.32	3.21

* (1) Hill Tracts.—Simla, Kangra, Mandi, Chamba, Soket and the Simla Hill states

(2) Submontane and Central.—Umballa, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Kapurthala, Maler Kotla and Faridkot.

(3) Eastern Plains.—Hissar, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Delhi, Karnal, Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Kalsia, Pataudi, Loharu and Dujana.

(4) Western Plains.—Mooltan, Jhang, Montgomery, Shahpur, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh and Bahawalpur.

(5) Salt Range Tract.—Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu.

Lahore	59.99	25.27	14.14
Amritsar	45.56	27.87	26.34
Gurdaspur	48.63	42.01	9.09
Sialkot	61.19	33.15	4.45
Gujrat	87.97	9.51	2.50
Gujranwala	68.90	24.09	6.57
Shahpur	84.62	13.38	1.98
Jhelum	89.10	8.34	2.49
Rawalpindi	86.61	9.39	3.10
Hazara	94.61	4.65	.70
Peshawar	92.99	5.03	1.30
Kohat	92.36	5.31	2.20
Bannu	90.59	9.07	.29
Dera Ismail Khan	86.42	12.95	.58
Dera Ghazi Khan	86.53	13.09	.35
Muzaffargarh	86.00	13.28	.71
Biloch Trans-frontier	99.46	.54	—
Total British Territory	55.75	36.19	6.65

ABSTRACT No. III

Showing composition of each religion by caste in the Punjab.

Caste		*Percentage of males of each caste in each religion on the total males of all castes in that religion*		
		Hindus	*Sikhs*	*Musalmans.*
1. Agricultural* (24 castes)	..	34.31	64.36	60.68
2. Professional (4 castes)	..	12.57	1.24	6.57
3. Commercial (7 castes)	..	14.95	7.58	1.11
4. Artisans and village menials (23 castes)	..	36.19	25.60	29.86
5. Vagrants, minor artisans &c. (6 castes)	..	1.98	1.22	1.67

* Jats:— Hindus, 17; Sikhs, 51; Musalmans, 14.
Rajputs:— Hindus, 4; Sikhs, 1; Musalmans, 10.5.

ABSTRACT No. IV

Showing ability to read and write and knowledge of English, by caste, in the Punjab.

Caste	*Per 100 of the Caste.*		
	Number of persons able to read and write	Number of persons knowing English	Percentage of the literate in each caste on the total literate
1. Agricultural ..	1.44	.03	22.07
2. Professional ..	7.69	.20	20.26
3. Commercial ..	19.78	.38	44.95
4. Artisans and village menials	.88	.02	8.60
5. Vagrants, minor artisans, &c.	.68	.01	.36

ABSTRACT No. V

Showing education among the followers of each religion.

Religion	*Males per cent.*	
	Under instruction	Can read and write.
Hindus ..	1.58	9.44
Sikhs ..	1.35	7.84
Musalmans ..	.95	2.25

ABSTRACT No. VI

Showing, by religion, the proportion of the learning and the literate at each age-period to the total of that age-period.

Religion		*Percentage of Males.*		
		0 to 14	15 to 24	25 & over
Hindus	Learning ..	6	1	.01
	Literate	2	12	.16
Sikhs	Learning	5	1	.08
	Literate	2	10	.13
Musalmans	Learning	3	1	.1
	Literate	6	4	.4

ABSTRACT No. VII

Religion	Percentage of literate males in each religion on total literate males.	Increase per cent in the number of literate since 1881
Hindus ..	65.7	31.9
Sikhs ..	10.4	80.2
Musalmans ..	19.5	46.9
Hindus and Sikhs ..	—	36.8

Remarks by the Census Commissioner :—

A comparison of the ratios borne by the learners of each religion to the total number of learners with the ratios of the literate in each religion to the total literate indicates a considerable increase of education in late years among the Muhammadans ; for, although the number of literate Musalmans is only 19.5 per cent. of the total number of literate, the number of Musalman learners is 38.2 per cent. of the total learning. A comparison of our returns with those of 1881 shows this still more clearly, for while the number of Hindus and Sikhs who can read and write has increased 36.8 per cent., the number of literate Musalmans has increased 46.9 per cent. The increase is found all over the Province ; it is less marked in Native States, but in British territory it is equally noticeable in the east and in the west. This increase, accompanied, as it is, by a corresponding increase in the proportion of boys really under education, is one of the most encouraging of the facts brought to light by our figures.

Among the natives of the country the commercial classes contain nearly a half of the total literate population. 21 per cent. of the Aroras, 22 per cent. of the Khatris, 23 per cent. of the Banias and Suds, and 25 per cent. of the Bhabras can read and write. The first three trading castes contribute over 40 per cent. of the literate population. The commercial population is mainly Hindu, and the Muhammadan commercial castes, such as the Parachas and Khojas, are much behind the Hindu commercial castes in education.

In the professional class, which stands next in order of education, 10 per cent. of the Brahmans and 6 per cent. of the Sayyads are literate ; the former representing 14 per cent. of the literacy in the Province. Among religious devotees 5 per cent. and among the miscellaneous class of Musalman Ulama about 13 per cent. can read and write.

Among the agricultural community only 1.4 per cent. can read and write. But the number of agriculturists being comparatively large, the literate among them represent 22 per cent. of the literate in the Province. Of these, one half are

Jats and Rajputs, the main agricultural tribes of the Punjab. The proportion of education is very marked in the Muhammadan tribes of the centre and northwest : 1.6 per cent. of the Khokhars, 1.2 per cent. of the Awans, 2.8 per cent. of the Gakhars, and 3 per cent. of the Mughals, and what is encouraging to observe nearly 2 per cent. of the Pathans, are able to read and write. The Sheikhs show a high degree of education, 3.8 pr cent. of them being educated.

As regards the knowledge of English, the commercial classes are most advanced ; then come the professional, then the agricultural, and last of all the artisans and menials. Among the agricultural castes, English education is very much below that of the commercial and professional classes, and the returns are exaggerated by the inclusion as agriculturists of the Sheikhs and Mughals, who are largely inhabitants of towns. Putting this apart, the proportion of English-knowing persons, just as the proportion of literate, is very marked among the Muhammadan tribes beyond the Salt Range, more especially among the Gakhars, Khokhars, and Pathans. There is also a fair proportion among the Rajputs who know English.

The effect of religion on education has been shown in the Census Report by comparing the proportion of literate in certain castes (e.g., Jat, Rajput, Kalal, &c.) which profess more than one form of faith. The comparison "shows very clearly how the better education of Hindus is largely a matter of class, not of religion. The Hindus are well-educated, because the Brahmans, Khatris, Aroras and other prominent Hindu castes are well educated, but in large castes, like the Jats and Rajputs, which contain a very considerable Hindu element, the Hindus are either no better educated, or worse educated, than Musalmans of the same caste."

Having furnished you with the chief census Statistics on Muhammadan education in the Punjab, I shall now call your attention to the following figures, taken from the returns of the Education Department, which show at a glance our comparative educational condition between the years 1881-92 :—

	1881-82			1882-83			1883-84		
	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs
University Education									
Arts College, English	120	29	8	127	25	14	143	38	28
Oriental College	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medical College	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Secondary Education									
Secondary Stage (English)	2,036	794	249	2,358	983	286	2,856	1,143	395
(Vernacular)	1,482	947	305	1,616	1,001	316	1,727	1,074	343
Primary Education									
Primary Stage (English)	14,287	7,176	1,377	14,712	7,755	1,531	16,307	8,340	1,768
(Vernacular)	35,111	28,378	6,185	36,479	30,013	6,642	39,188	32,631	7,320
Special or Technical Education									
Training Schools	98	101	14	105	66	20	89	89	21
School of Art	8	17	16	15	26	12	15	30	13

	H	M	S	H	M	S	H	M	S
Law School	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medical School	81	38	13	84	47	13	87	45	17
Industrial Schools	1	124	..	1	98	..	2	92	1
Other Special Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total scholars at Public Institutions	..	..	..	..	..	..	60,414	43,482	9,906
Scholars at Private Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	25,576	103,133	6,616
Total scholars at Institutions of all Kinds	..	..	..	..	..	..	85,990	146,615	16,522
Percentage on boys of school-going age of—									
1. Scholars in secondary stage of Anglo-Vernacular Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Scholars in Public Institutions	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Scholars in Institutions of all kinds	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
University Education		(1884-85)			(1885-86)			(1886-87)	
Arts College, English	164	37	18	223	56	23	231	55	26
Oriental College	50	67	2	6	74	10	52	67	3
Medical College	..	..	..	..	...	..	44	9	..
Secondary Education									
Secondary Stage (English)	13,442	6,845	1,748	14,084	7,544	1,771	14,970	8,021	1,908

	H	M	S	H	M	S	H	M	S
(Vernacular)	11,114	6,349	1,697	11,335	6,251	1,790	10,456	5,991	1,588
Primary Education									
Primary Stage (English)	38,625	32,308	7,317	39,324	33,674	7,791	38,192	51,478	8,143
(Vernacular)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Special Technical Education									
Training Schools	136	104	20	117	111	26	170	158	26
School of Art	18	44	21	24	32	13	18	42	20
Law School	43	17	6	..	..	..	46	19	6
Medical School	109	50	15	96	57	14	65	59	13
Industrial Schools	7	69	2	7	80	5	58	97	46
Other Special Schools	8	45	7	12	59	12	9	55	12
Total Scholars at Public Institutions	63,716	45,935	10,853	65,228	47,938	11,455	64,311	66,051	11,791
Scholars at Private Schools	21,941	102,135	6,759	20,832	95,233	6,265	26,442	98,409	6,480
Total Scholars at Institutions of all kinds	85,657	148,070	17,612	86,060	143,171	17,720	90,753	164,460	18,271
Percentage on Boys of school-going age of	13,406 girls are included in boys' schools, of which details by religion are not available.			8,236 girls are included, &c.					

	H	M	S	H	M	S	H	M	S
1. Scholars in Secondary stage of Anglo-Vernacular Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.5	.5	1.2
2. Scholars in Public Institutions	..	..	..	..	..	..	6.5	3.0	7.7
Scholars in Institutions of all kinds	..	..	..	..	..	..	9.2	9.4	11.9
University Education		(1887-88)			(1888-89)			(1889-90)	
Arts College, English	207	66	23	210	76	27	226	92	31
Oriental College	54	69	12	23	46	7	25	50	6
Medical College	35	11	2	47	16	3	68	15	5
Secondary Education									
Secondary Stage (English)	16,074	8,830	2,013	5,322	2,272	739	4,882	2,210	694
(Vernacular)	9,960	5,999	1,581	2,627	1,398	457	2,179	1,121	517
Primary Education									
Primary Stage (English)									
(Vernacular)	36,963	31,697	7,631	57,307	46,965	10,551	57,143	47,261	11,575
Special or Technical Education									
Training Schools	164	120	21	166	128	24	184	110	21
School of Art	13	39	27	28	41	28	21	48	27
Law School	47	14	5	32	10	4	44	8	2

	H	M	S	H	M	S	H	M	S
Medical School	60	54	16	74	71	17	93	73	21
Industrial Schools	62	72	32	20	67	62	27	232	98
Other Special Schools	5	43	7	8	54	10	14	65	11
Total Scholars at Public Institutions	63,614	47,014	11,370	65,864	51,144	11,929	64,906	51,285	13,008
Scholars at Private Schools	25,529	101,009	7,248	25,790	91,001	6,207	22,195	76,785	5,508
Total Scholars at Institutions of all kinds	89,173	148,023	18,618	91,654	142,145	18,136	87,101	128,070	18,516
Percentage on Boys of School-going age of:—									
1. Scholars in Secondary stage of Anglo-Vernacular Schools	1.6	.5	1.3	.50	.14	.45	.83	.26	.72
2. Scholars in Public Institutions	6.4	3.0	7.4	6.24	3.16	7.26	11.14	6.06	13.56
Scholars in Institutions of all kinds	9.0	9.7	12.2	8.69	8.78	11.4	14.95	15.14	19.30

	(1890-91)			(1891-92)		
University Education						
Arts College, English	271	74	36	329	84	35
Oriental College	19	49	11	19	43	10
Medical College	76	24	11	93	29	6
Secondary Education						
Secondary Stage (English)	5,134	2,410	716	5,588	2,647	814

	H	M	S	H	M	S
(Vernacular)	2,190	1,212	567	2,208	1,326	601
Primary Education						
Primary Stage (English) (Vernacular)	56,474	45,914	11,710	60,444	49,985	12,356
Special or Technical Education						
Training Schools	183	128	31	187	125	45
School of Art	19	58	39	25	65	41
Law School	46	13	6	63	16	5
Medical School	75	68	24	95	52	25
Industrial Schools	47	183	112	71	256	114
Other Special Schools	10	63	10	11	72	14
Total Scholars at Public Institutions	64,544	50,196	13,273	69,133	54,700	14,066
Scholars at Private Schools	22,582	64,050	4,894	27,214	65,622	5,720
Total Scholars at Institutions of all kinds	87,126	114,246	18,167	96,347	120,322	19,786
Percentage on Boys of School-going age of:—						
1. Scholars in Secondary Stage of Anglo-Vernacular Schools	.88	.28	.75	.89	.28	.69
2. Scholars in Public Institutions	11.08	5.93	13.84	10.97	5.87	11.97
3. Scholars in Institutions of all kinds	14.96	13.50	18.94	15.29	12.92	16.83

The following table shows in detail from the years 1880-81 to 1883-84 the comparative strength of Secondary and Primary education among Muhammadans in various districts of the Province:—

ENGLISH SCHOOLS

DISTRICT	1880-81						1881-82					
	H. and M. Schools			Primary Schools			H. and M. Schools			Primary Schools		
	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs
Delhi	188	59	..	1,018	435	6	207	51	2	1,053	432	6
Gurgaon	82	6	1	380	89	..	66	8	..	364	90	1
Karnal	44	18	1	324	90	1	28	10	2	350	80	5
Hissar	33	3	..	633	52	2	27	6	..	558	55	..
Rohtak	46	6	..	308	123	2	38	6	..	365	141	1
Sirsa	12	1	3	216	46	1	15	..	..	184	54	3
Umballa	100	27	8	818	411	41	95	28	5	880	433	47
Ludhiana	104	60	14	306	344	43	95	52	11	375	373	53
Simla	11	9	..	108	43	..	14	7	..	106	41	..
Jullundur	112	74	17	722	333	25	97	67	16	656	284	34
Hoshiarpur	103	25	6	240	158	13	110	35	3	250	181	20
Kangra	39	6	..	299	62	1	37	7	..	339	73	1
	H	M	S	H	M	S	H	M	S	H	M	S
Amritsar	134	84	62	1,279	516	435	127	74	58	1,127	347	352
Gurdaspur	95	46	23	825	365	83	98	55	25	836	394	87
Sialkot	53	42	14	349	409	61	61	29	8	355	455	70
Lahore	205	87	18	1,626	943	119	190	78	19	1,537	860	110
Gujranwala	99	51	21	678	441	153	54	50	26	682	452	13 3
Ferozepore	40	16	5	341	175	38	51	19	7	368	205	41
Rawalpindi	25	5	11	325	205	103	38	15	15	389	286	141
Jhelum	37	18	6	258	159	27	46	15	4	348	163	50
Gujrat	58	65	11	318	294	35	79	63	15	340	312	36
Shahpur	42	10	2	319	117	7	33	12	2	329	118	10
Peshawar	22	17	3	245	181	54	24	17	6	217	179	35
Hazara	5	4	2	27	50	7	5	5	3	25	54	6
Kohat	12	6	1	99	111	42	15	6	2	124	141	47
Mooltan	139	24	5	741	297	14	124	28	2	753	294	15
Jhang	140	37	8	305	196	20	117	26	8	383	177	26
Montgomery	6	3	3	46	29	11	10	2	3	61	33	12
Muzaffargarh	17	3	2	60	40	8	19	2	3	51	32	2
Dera Ismail Khan	42	3	3	304	155	14	34	12	2	346	230	11
Dera Ghazi Khan	56	8	1	382	114	5	45	6	1	452	126	10
Bannu	13	8	..	67	64	6	7	3	1	84	81	12
TOTAL	2,114	831	251	13,966	6,947	1,377	2,006	794	249	14,287	7,176	1,377

ENGLISH SCHOOLS

DISTRICT	1882-83						1883-84*					
	H. and M. Schools			Primary Schools			H. and M. Schools			Primary Schools		
	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs
Delhi	196	60	2	1,110	466	4	268	67	1	1,201	486	
Gurgaon	83	8	..	371	97	2	75	10	..	403	90	1
Karnal	35	9	..	501	266	7	71	29	..	550	251	8
Hissar	24	5	..	553	52	..	29	8	..	581	67	3
Rohtak	39	7	..	333	151	14	42	9	1	373	130	3
Sirsa	21	4	1	184	44	2	23	4	1	180	47	2
Umballa	105	36	12	1,019	468	54	115	47	13	985	447	58
Ludhiana	114	73	20	417	407	52	126	83	27	545	416	54
Simla	12	8	2	101	51	4	9	12	..	111	48	5
Jullundur	125	76	4	597	289	37	180	93	18	699	564	37
Hoshiarpur	110	45	9	271	187	20	115	48	9	267	162	22
Kangra	38	9	..	349	78	..	43	6	1	445	115	..
Amritsar	158	77	56	1,226	431	415	186	87	83	1,369	413	447
Gurdaspur	127	65	31	848	416	77	159	77	30	953	401	119
Sialkot	68	44	14	376	429	85	95	49	30	513	473	134
Lahore	270	113	29	1,663	910	130	346	138	34	1,729	939	185
	H	M	S	H	M	S	H	M	S	H	M	S
Gujranwala	94	58	30	697	433	157	117	66	40	739	378	171
Ferozepore	53	22	8	348	220	38	47	17	14	383	214	41
Rawalpindi	17	22	..	476	346	128	58	17	25	727	505	194
Jhelum	56	19	6	345	199	48	60	26	7	403	223	50
Gujrat	100	80	14	323	343	44	108	93	16	308	363	47
Shahpur	41	8	5	306	90	14	58	8	4	314	100	8
Peshawar	43	21	5	232	213	45	51	27	3	223	233	41
Hazara	7	6	4	22	43	9	9	5	2	159	112	30
Kohat	21	11	2	117	192	47	14	11	9	101	197	50
Mooltan	145	32	2	647	289	14	170	38	4	667	334	17
Jhang	125	29	9	365	168	26	134	35	12	420	168	17
Montgomery	12	3	3	97	48	24	16	4	6	99	49	29
Muzaffargarh	14	6	4	55	61	5	13	3	..	73	42	4
Dera Ismail Khan	38	14	3	280	181	14	46	10	3	322	179	12
Dera Ghazi Khan	58	9	..	441	104	3	71	12	..	420	108	..
Bannu	9	4	1	42	83	12	2	4	2	45	86	2
TOTAL	2,358	983	276	14,712	7,755	1,531	2,856	1,143	395	16,307	8,340	1,768

*The figures for the following years are not published in the Annual Reports.

VERNACULAR SCHOOLS

DISTRICTS	1880-81						1881-82					
	H. and M. Schools			Primary Schools			H. and M. Schools			Primary Schools		
	Hindus	Muham-madans	Sikhs	Hindus	Muham-madans	Sikhs	Hindus	Muham-madans	Sikhs	Hindus	Muham-madans	Sikhs
Delhi	130	21	1	1,474	328	4	103	22	..	1,860	365	2
Gurgaon	86	44	..	1,729	723	8	88	48	1	1,899	729	3
Karnal	31	28	..	1,036	339	10	28	18	..	728	651	11
Hissar	3	3	..	561	151	..	5	5	..	554	177	..
Rohtak	48	18	..	1,426	400	1	51	14	..	1,700	461	..
Umballa	113	89	34	2,205	1,111	254	88	70	26	2,335	1,091	265
Ludhiana	127	51	91	1,162	569	682	98	36	66	1,281	591	704
Jullundur	204	153	39	2,226	1,886	312	209	105	46	2,301	1,884	366
Hoshiarpur	174	120	15	2,500	1,151	204	217	123	21	2,617	1,183	220
Kangra	40	3	..	1,753	178	3	35	..	..	1,869	179	2
Amritsar	36	30	15	1,194	1,206	782	28	30	11	1,134	1,151	739
Gurdaspur	38	34	8	1,632	1,613	448	30	44	11	1,745	1,576	448
Sialkot	84	75	11	1,454	1,536	385	70	80	8	1,545	1,620	385
Lahore	66	80	44	760	973	333	51	73	35	770	1,153	373
	H	M	S	H	M	S	H	M	S	H	M	S
Gujranwala	41	18	11	1,474	961	383	38	15	9	1,454	1,223	387
Ferozepore	40	39	39	602	663	466	22	28	26	677	706	486
Rawalpindi	29	19	27	1,120	1,759	649	23	27	27	1,282	2,171	770
Jhelum	23	25	10	1,144	1,366	154	28	20	8	1,288	1,606	220
Gujrat	46	19	7	1,049	1,566	258	39	27	5	1,216	1,618	329
Shahpur	18	7	2	867	607	107	25	6	3	994	684	133
Peshawar	2	11	2	212	1,035	23	3	8	..	243	1,038	33
Hazara	5	7	2	221	628	23	6	6	1	229	604	31
Mooltan	14	10	..	887	1,401	9	20	15	..	925	1,543	11
Jhang	34	10	..	602	573	33	30	10	..	601	608	35
Montgomery	47	3	3	794	322	175	37	4	1	722	332	149
Muzaffargarh	16	9	..	657	787	3	27	15	..	672	826	15
Dera Ismail Khan	32	16	..	757	621	9	28	19	..	867	679	13
Dera Ghazi Khan	31	24	1	407	860	5	33	33	..	551	1,046	5
Bannu	10	5	..	540	462	6	22	1	..	478	553	5
Sirsa	..	..	..	140	149	53	..	..	..	275	128	44
Simla	..	..	..	227	32	..	..	..	..	245	48	1
Kohat	..	..	..	35	69	..	..	..	..	54	154	..
TOTAL	1,568	971	362	32,847	26,025	5,782	14,82	912	305	35,111	24,029	6,185

VERNACULAR SCHOOLS

DISTRICT	1882-83						1883-84					
	H. and M. Schools			Primary Schools			H. and M. Schools			Primary Schools		
	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs
Delhi	110	22	..	1,956	419	2	116	18	1	2,010	461	2
Gurgaon	95	44	1	2,298	901	6	101	47	..	2,461	970	5
Karnal	36	22	..	693	473	19	20	12	..	872	500	20
Hissar	6	5	..	569	201	10	11	4	..	657	186	8
Rohtak	54	21	..	1,932	458	1	46	20	..	1,870	393	3
Umballa	77	69	19	2,611	1,225	301	98	72	33	2,798	1,413	394
Ludhiana	120	45	85	1,363	643	720	127	44	81	1,455	659	905
Jullundur	172	126	39	2,017	1,725	370	162	115	36	2,300	2,057	503
Hoshiarpur	234	122	25	2,834	1,297	234	255	127	30	2,812	1,293	229
Kangra	36	1	..	1,619	170	1	33	1	..	1,930	204	3
Amritsar	29	31	14	1,135	1,151	821	28	31	19	1,237	1,269	923
Gurdaspur	31	30	8	1,737	1,618	458	38	34	9	1,971	1,852	379
Sialkot	73	68	6	1,775	1,719	350	81	62	10	1,748	1,709	330
Lahore	57	63	32	833	1,277	396	59	59	31	966	1,344	450
Gujranwala	50	12	11	1,620	1,074	404	53	16	12	1,719	1,176	418
	H	M	S	H	M	S	H	M	S	H	M	S
Ferozepore	35	32	27	905	967	771	43	37	22	1,048	995	843
Rawalpindi	44	58	27	1,473	2,774	845	51	61	31	1,425	2,955	907
Jhelum	31	36	7	1,265	1,795	219	47	42	10	1,344	2,053	221
Gujrat	44	45	9	1,074	1,937	271	45	72	11	1,228	2,108	313
Shahpur	33	8	3	956	699	134	44	16	1	1,060	998	160
Peshawar	8	16	..	237	1,135	34	8	38	1	279	1,229	31
Hazara	8	9	1	205	593	26	7	10	..	376	869	31
Mooltan	26	10	..	901	1,444	10	27	7	..	916	1,562	29
Jhang	31	8	..	559	543	33	35	13	1	545	552	37
Montgomery	50	4	1	693	331	140	51	6	3	723	300	123
Muzaffargarh	30	19	..	627	829	2	30	15	..	586	761	..
Dera Ismail Khan	35	19	..	773	662	10	40	17	..	743	582	11
Dera Ghazi Khan	36	53	..	689	979	7	43	72	..	773	1,018	3
Bannu	25	3	1	474	582	5	28	6	1	662	754	9
Sirsa	..	..	..	326	178	42	..	..	..	305	182	30
Simla	..	..	..	261	37	..	..	..	..	300	37	..
Kohat	..	..	..	65	177	..	..	..	..	69	189	..
TOTAL	1,616	1,001	316	36,479	30,013	6,642	1,727	1,074	343	39,188	32,631	7,320

The above figures may fitly be supplemented by the following official remarks, taken from the Annual Reports of the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, commencing with the official year 1883-84 :—

Report for 1883-84 :

The broad results are that while some 1½ per cent. of the total male population and 6 per cent. of the males of school-going age attend schools on our model among Hindus and Sikhs, the corresponding proportions for Musalmans are only about half as large. But if indigenous schools be added the three religions stand nearly on an equality : some 10% of boys of a school-going age receiving instruction of some sort or other, while the Sikhs stand first and the Hindus last. The much larger proportion of Musalmans attending technical schools is very marked, while the much smaller proportion, which takes advantage of the higher education in secondary schools, is still more remarkable. This neglect of the higher education on the part of Musalmans seems, however, to be on the wane. Mr. Pearson notes that the percentage of Musalman scholars in the secondary schools of his Circle (that is Ambala) was 20 in 1881-82, 22 in 1882-83 and 24 in 1883-84. As the total number of scholars in these schools increased by 41 per cent, within the same interval, the advance is remarkable. Mr. Pearson also writes that the Muhammadan prejudice against English education is fast dying out. I entirely agree with the general conclusion of these gentlemen, that the special backwardness in educational matters that has been found to exist among Muhammadans in other parts of India is not so prominently marked as in the Punjab. It is true that while out of a population of 7 million Hindus we have about 9 per thousand at our schools, only 4½ per thousand of our 10½ million Muhammadans are under instruction other than indigenous. But of the former 14.7 and 13.3 per cent, and of the latter only .6 and 7.5 per cent belong to the mercantile and priestly classes, respectively. So among the latter 57, and among the former only 34 per cent are agriculturists. The Muhammadans are less frequent at school, not because they are Muhammadans but

very largely because they are cultivators and do not follow the professions in which the pen is a necessity. On the other hand, it so happens that the wild and still half-barbarous tribes of our Frontier and the semi-nomad inhabitants of our great Western prairies are Muhammadan almost to a man; and it is because they are half-barbarous or semi-nomad, and not because they follow the Prophet, that the desire for education is weak among them. No doubt religious prejudice has some part in the matter; but it is probably growing weaker day by day, as they learn that a man may have been taught at a Government school and yet be a good Muslim. And if we succeed in inducing the Quran schools to add some elementary instruction in reading, writing and cyphering to their course, we may find that very prejudice a most powerful instrument in spreading the rudiments of education among the Musalman masses.

Report for 1884-85.

While the number of Hindus at public schools and colleges has increased by 5½ per cent, that of Sikhs has risen by 9, and that of Muhammadans by 6 per cent. The proportion of scholars to Muhammadan boys of school-going age has risen from 1 in 35 to 1 in 33. The increase in the number of Muhammadans in Arts Colleges is partly owing to the inclusion for the first time of the figures for the Oriental College. But deducting the 67 Muhammadan scholars of that Institution, the increase from 18 to 37 is sufficiently striking. As before, the proportion of Muhammadan pupils is largest in the School of Art, and the increase in actual number from 30 to 44 is large.

Report for 1885-86:

The number of Hindus at public schools and colleges has increased by 12.4 per cent, the number of Sikhs by 5.5, and the number of Muhammadans by 4.2. The proportion of scholars to boys of school-going age is now 1 in 15 in the case of Hindus, 1 in 13.3 amongst Sikhs, and 1 in 13.8 amongst Muhammadans. In public schools the Sikhs are

more largely represented than either Hindus or Muhammadans and are more rapidly increasing. The number of Muhammadan scholars is, however, increasing more rapidly than that of Hindus, though the proportion of Hindu scholars at public schools to Hindus of school-going age is still more than double that which prevails in the case of Muhammadans.

It is satisfactory to find that the number of Muhammadans attending English Arts Colleges has increased from 37 to 56, or by 50 per cent., which is a much more rapid rate of increase than that shown by Hindus or Sikhs, though the Hindu students are still four times as numerous as the Muhammadans.

Report for 1886-87 :

"The proportion of Muhammadans under instruction is much larger in primary than in secondary schools, and in secondary schools than in colleges. In schools for technical instruction they are more largely represented than Hindus : but this is not the case in the Central Training College, where a good knowledge of English is required. The proportion of scholars attending public schools to boys of school-going age is 1 in 15.2 in the case of Hindus, 1 in 12.9 amongst Sikhs, and 1 in 33.1 amongst Muhammadans. If we add scholars attending private schools, the proportion in the case of Hindus and Muhammadans is nearly equal, being 1 in nearly 10.5, whilst amongst Sikhs the proportion is 1 in 8.3.

"I have already stated that steps have been taken by the institution of Jubilee scholarships to encourage higher education amongst Muhammadans, and I have no doubt that this measure will produce a most satisfactory result."

Report for 1887-88 :

"In colleges and in schools for secondary education, more especially in Anglo-Vernacular schools, the proportion of Muhammadans is very small as compared with that of Hindus and Sikhs ; and in public institutions of all kinds the percentage of Muhammadan scholars on the number of

Muhammadan boys of school-going age is less than half the percentage shown in the case of Hindus, and still smaller as compared with the percentage of Sikhs. In private schools Muhammadans predominate ; and hence it comes that, taking public and private institutions of all kinds, we find Muhammadans as well represented as Hindus, though the first place is held by Sikhs. This would be so far satisfactory if it were not for the fact that the great majority of Muhammadans in private schools are simply taught certain portions of the Quran by rote, and learn neither to read nor to write.

"The Jubilee scholarships recently awarded have, no doubt, helped to improve the attendance of Muhammadans at colleges and Anglo-Vernacular schools. Without such encouragement the enhanced rates of fees would probably have caused a serious diminution of numbers. It has now been determined to reserve for Muhammadans one-half the free studentships that may be given in secondary schools and one-half the studentships at half rates available in these schools and in colleges, the other half being reserved for Hindus and Sikhs. This will, no doubt, tend to the advantage of Muhammadans in cases where their numbers are unduly small through inability to pay the prescribed fees.

Report for 1888-89 :

The Muhammadans are still very backward as regards higher education in comparison with other sections of the community. The number of Muhammadans attending Arts Colleges is little more than one-third the number of Hindus, while the number of Muhammadan boys in the secondary stage, both in Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular schools, is little more than half the number of Hindu boys, and not very much above one-fourth in proportion in the population. In public institutions of all kinds the percentage of Muhammadan boys of school-going age who are in attendance is about half that of Hindus. This attendance has increased during the year. The attendance has been smaller than amongst Hindus in the case of students in the secondary stage of instruction, but it has been larger in English Arts

Colleges and also in Primary schools.

The Jubilee scholarships provided for the special benefit of Muhammadans are highly appreciated.

Report for 1889-90 :

Of late years the Muhammadan community have fully realized the mistake which they made in the past, and have manfully striven to retrieve it. Their efforts in this direction have moreover been assisted and encouraged by the Government. The task, however, is by no means an easy one, as the comparative poverty to which a large section of the most intelligent classes have been reduced by their former apathy in this matter renders it impossible for them, in many cases, to bear the expense of maintaining their children at High Schools and Colleges and defraying the costs of their education, which is now much higher than it used to be some years ago.

One other disadvantage is due to the practice that largely prevails amongst Muhammadans of teaching portions of the Quran to children before their secular education begins. Several years are often expended in this manner, and Musalman boys who are subjected to such a system are necessarily backward as compared with those of other creeds who are sent to public schools at an early age. This difficulty may be met either by the establishment of elementary Muhammadan schools, where secular is combined with the religious instruction, or by arranging, in concert with local bodies, for the religious instruction of boys attending Board schools. Special provision has been made in the Code to admit of the latter arrangement in accordance with the wishes expressed on the subject by native gentlemen ; but as yet, I believe, it has not been taken advantage of.

Compared with the numbers previously on the rolls, the attendance of Muhammadan boys in the secondary department of Anglo-Vernacular schools has increased in a much larger proportion than that of Hindus and Sikhs ; and this has been the case to a still greater extent in Arts colleges, where the number of Muhammadan students is considerably

more than double what it was five years ago. In the primary stage, the very considerable increase that has taken place is confined to Muhammadans and Sikhs. In public institutions of all kinds for males, taken together, the largest increase is amongst Muhammadans, the largest in proportion to the numbers previously on the rolls amongst Sikhs. A large reduction is shown in the number of private institutions in consequence of the fact that schools with less than six scholars are no longer recognized by the department. This reduction has chiefly affected the number of Quran schools for Muhammadans.

Comparing the percentage of boys attending schools on the total number of boys of a school-going age, we find that the Muhammadan boys in the secondary department of Anglo-Vernacular schools are less than one-third, and those in public schools of all kinds about half the number that would be required to place them on a level with other sections of the community. In public and private institutions, taken together, the percentage of Muhammadans is higher than that of Hindus, owing to the large number of boys attending schools where the Quran is taught by rote.

The Jubilee scholarships awarded by the Government to students attending High departments and colleges and by Local Boards to those attending Middle schools and departments, have had a very good effect in the promotion of English education amongst the Musalman community. It has been arranged also that half the free studentships at half fee rates available in Secondary schools and colleges shall be reserved for Muhammadans, the other half being reserved for Hindus and Sikhs. This measure will be very beneficial to Muhammadans so long as the number attending Secondary schools and colleges is unduly small through their inability to pay the ordinary fees, or other causes.

Report for 1890-91 :

The total number of Muhammadan pupils fell during the year from 139,767 to 128,879, or by nearly 8 per cent. The decrease was exclusively on the boys' side, and chiefly in the

private schools. In the public schools for boys there was a decrease of 1,089 pupils, owing mostly, it is believed, to enhanced fees. In Private schools for boys the decrease amounted to 12,735, owing to the decision arrived at last year to exclude all schools with less than 6 pupils which mainly affected Quran schools. The percentage in attendance on schools of all kinds of boys of a school-going age has decreased from 15.14 to 13.5. In Public schools for boys, whereas the percentage for Muhammadans is only 5.93, for Hindus it is 11.8 and for Sikhs 13.84. The above figures point to vast room for educational enterprise, only about 1 in 18 Muhammadan boys being yet under instruction in public institutions.

There is now as great an increase in the attendance of Muhammadans at institutions for advanced education as of Hindus. In schools for Secondary education there is an increase of about 9 per cent., especially in Anglo-Vernacular schools.

The fall of 18 in the Arts colleges is probably owing to the high rates of fees now charged. There is no doubt that there is a steadily growing appreciation among the Muhammadan community of an advanced, but especially of an English, education. The award of Jubilee scholarships has everywhere acted as a great stimulus to the cause of higher education.

Report for 1891-92 :

The total number of Muhammadans under instruction rose during the past year from 128,879 to 131,493, or by about 2 per cent. The increase was solely in the males, and chiefly in the Public schools. The difference is most striking in returns for Public schools and for Anglo-Vernacular Secondary schools, where the Hindus and Sikhs attend between double and treble the extent to which Muhammadans do. Taking the attendance on Public schools as the most reliable test of real advance in education, it will be found that whilst only 1 in 17 Muhammadan boys of a school-going age attend these, the corresponding return for Hindus is about one in nine and for Sikhs one in a little

over eight boys. In schools for secondary education there is an increase of nearly 10 per cent., chiefly in Anglo-Vernacular schools. In Arts colleges the increase is over 13 per cent., and in most of the advanced special institutions there is a slight rise. In the last B.A. Examination twelve places in the pass list were taken by Muhammadans, one of those being the absolutely first in the first division. Twenty-eight of the places in the Intermediate Examination, or over one-sixth of the whole, were taken by Muhammadans. There is also a good deal of private enterprise among the community in favour of English education. The Government have recently sanctioned the continuance of the Jubilee scholarships instituted in favour of the Muhammadan community for a further period of five years.

From the figures and official remarks given above, the following propositions may, I think, be taken to be fairly established :—

1. That in private *Maktabs* considerably over 1,00,000 Musalman boys are under instruction, their number being at least four times as large as that of Hindus in similar institutions, and twice as large as the number of Musalmans in Public schools of all kinds.

2. That in the primary stage of Public schools the Muhammadans are fairly well represented, but the higher up we go the smaller becomes their percentage as compared with the Hindus and Sikhs. The percentage on boys of school-going age, of scholars attending institutions of all kinds (i.e., including private schools), is, in round numbers, nearly 15 for each of the three religions. If we exclude Private schools, the percentage of the Hindus and Sikhs becomes nearly as large as the percentage of Musalmans in Public schools and nearly thrice as large in Secondary Anglo-Vernacular schools. In other words, Musalman boys in the secondary departments of Anglo-Vernacular schools are about one-third, and those in Public schools of all kinds about half, the number that would be required to place them on a level with the other communities. In Arts colleges the Musalmans show a satisfactory rate of increase, though

the Hindus are still about four times their number.

3. That the Muhammadans are less frequent at school, chiefly because they are cultivators, and a comparatively small percentage of them belong to the mercantile and priestly classes.

4. That religious prejudice and national pride, which may have in the past retarded the progress of English education among Musalmans, are now fast dying out, and poverty is now the chief obstacle in their way. The high rates of fees now levied in Government and Aided schools and colleges would have very much retarded the education of Musalmans if it had not been for the institution of Jubilee scholarships, and for the fact that a number of free studentships and studentships at the half rates have been reserved for them.

5. That in public institutions about 1 in 17 Musalman boys of a school-going age is under instruction, as against 1 in about 9 Hindus, and 1 in 8 Sikhs.

6. That in schools for technical instruction, the Musalmans are more largely represented than the Hindus ; but this is not the case in the Law school and in the Medical and Training schools and colleges, where a good knowledge of English and a pass beyond the secondary stage are required.

7. That in point of general educational progress the Sikhs stand first, the Hindus second, and the Musalmans last.

Among the facts that we have seen established by the departmental returns quoted above, there is one fact much more striking than others, to which I wish to call the special attention of the Conference—I mean the part which indigenous rote teaching plays in the education of Musalmans of the Punjab. So widespread is this kind of instruction in our part of the country, that, as things at present stand, there is authority for saying that no less than 80 per cent. of pupils in indigenous schools are Musalmans. This phase of our educational condition attracted the attention of the authorities soon after the British annexation of the Punjab ; and under the system introduced by Lord Lawrence Persian schools, scattered through the minor towns and villages of

the province, were absorbed into Government and Aided institutions. At the close of the official year 1878-79 there were in the Punjab 4,662 indigenous schools with 53,027 scholars, of whom 2,612 were returned as learning Urdu, 7,567 Persian, and 31,991 as learning Arabic. After that year such of the indigenous schools as were not under regular inspection found no place in the statistical returns furnished by the Education Department, until, in the course of an elaborate Review of the Report on Public Instruction for 1881-82, Sir Charles Aitchison for the first time drew the attention of the Director to the supreme importance of encouraging and utilizing indigenous schools in the Province with a view to promoting self-help in popular education, and to the great danger of absorbing indigenous schools amongst the departmental establishments.

"Primary instruction," said His Honour, "can by no means be said to be established on a sufficiently wide basis when less than ½ per cent. of the population is under instruction in Government and Aided schools. A very considerable extension of primary instruction has now become the first educational requirement of the Punjab. The system of local self-government, the principle of popular election, and the encouragement of private enterprise and diversity of pursuit, all presuppose that the mass of the population will gradually enfranchise from gross ignorance, and will by degrees attain at least that elementary knowledge which, as society settles, becomes one of the first conditions of self-defence, self-reliance, self-help and self-advancement."

Speaking of departmental interference with private schools, His Honour remarked :—

In the interests of original enterprise, of mental activity, of diversity of occupation, of that variety in national life, which is at once the sign and the stimulant of progress, it is in the last degree objectionable that all educational institutions should be cast in one mould, and that mould a departmental one. On the other hand, to ignore altogether indigenous schools is sheer waste of so much educational materials. In the mass of such schools, it is represented, the

instruction given is extremely inefficient. That is no reason for neglecting the schools or for excluding them from the computation of our educational resources. It is a reason for examining more closely the actual character of the schools, and for offering masters and parents the means and the motives for improvement.

Finally, Sir Charles pointed out the first step toward the utilization and improvement of these schools would be to collect full information as to their locality, class, and condition; and gradually to extend to them the grants-in-aid system in the shape of payment by results, a system, which His Honour said, "was the only practicable method of securing the growth of primary education in a manner which shall correspond with, and, as far as possible, spring out of the wishes of the people."

In accordance with the instructions thus given, the Director of Public Instruction collected a large amount of interesting information regarding the indigenous schools, which will be found in his Report for 1882-83 (pages 4 to 18). These statistics show that there were in that year in the Punjab no less than 13,109 indigenous schools attended by 135,384 pupils, as against 1,559 Government and Aided institutions with 98,696 scholars. Of pupils attending indigenous schools about 103,100 were Muhammadans, 25,500 Hindus, and 6,600 Sikhs; in other words, the number of Musalman pupils was more than three times the number of Hindu and Sikh boys taken together. In all the districts which showed the largest number of scholars, viz., Jhelum, Gujrat, Hazara, Rawalpindi, Bannu, Sialkot, Gujranwala and Peshawar, the Muhammadans were the predominating element.

"From these statistics," said Sir Charles Aitchison, "it appears that more than one-half of the indigenous schools of the Province are purely Quran schools, and that these schools with the schools which teach Persian in addition to the Quran contain about 97,000 pupils out of the whole number." It follows naturally from this that the districts and educational circles which show the largest Muhammadan population show also the largest number of indigenous schools,

and it is a remarkable fact that while the proportion of Hindus to the total number of pupils in Government and Aided schools is 50.5 per cent., in indigenous schools it is only 19 per cent. It seems clear, therefore, to the Lieutenant-Governor that the Government must work through these indigenous schools in order to reach the Muhammadan population of the Province, and His Honour has no doubt that many of these schools would gladly combine secular education with religious instruction if they could. The religious difficulties which form obstacles in the way of the general education of Muhammadans, and which in some cases seriously affect their prospects of obtaining a full share of the posts in Government service, have been under the consideration of the Lieutenant-Governor during the past year, and His Honour feels sure that much may be done in the case of indigenous schools to overcome these difficulties. The Lieutenant-Governor believes that if the opportunity were offered to them (i.e., the Muhammadans), they would above all prefer religious and secular instruction combined. Such an opportunity will presently be offered by the expansion of the grant-in-aid system, and this is the best and most natural way of solving the religious difficulty wherever it exists. The statistics now collected show that throughout the backward districts of the Province there is strong desire for religious education, and His Honour can hardly doubt that if proper advantage is taken of this, an equally strong desire for elementary secular education may be developed in these parts.

The proposed extension of the system of grants-in-aid to the indigenous schools was for some time under the consideration of the Punjab Government, but no decided steps were taken in this direction until the Education Commission embodied its views on the subject in its final report. In accordance with the recommendations of the Commission, efforts have been made since 1885-86 to induce Private schools to add the elements of useful knowledge to their schemes of instruction by the offer of attendance, instruction and staff grants under very simple conditions, which.

from the statistics published, would appear to have proved highly successful. In the year 1889 the Director reported that "already more than 200 schools with an attendance of more than 7,000 scholars have been brought under our influence, the number of boys who passed by the standards was about 2,600, and the grants awarded fell little short of Rs. 10,000." The system thus introduced still continues to work with very satisfactory results.

As to the general attainments of teachers of indigenous schools, the Director reported in 1882-83 that the great majority of them were quite illiterate, more than one-third being unable to read a printed book or write, and about three-fourths being unacquainted with elementary Arithmetic. We all know how these schools are started, and how they are worked by teachers who, in the majority of cases, are either blind or otherwise disabled, and whose inability to follow any other calling is their only title to become the guides of our rising generations. Pious Musalmans, no doubt, send their children to these *Maktabs* to have them initiated into the mysteries of their religion. But who does not know that in these brain-cramping seminaries the ferrule is the order of the day and the teaching given is unworthy of the name?

With these facts before us, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the subjects taught and the methods of teaching in vogue in the Musalman indigenous schools throughout the Punjab represent a fearful waste of our educational material, and that the most effective way of promoting education among the Musalman masses in that Province is to see that the teachers of these schools add to their course of religious teaching some rudimentary instruction in the three R's, so as to satisfy, if possible, the conditions on which Government aid can be obtained. If this Conference is really anxious to be of some practical service to the community, not by passing mere resolutions but by working in sober earnestness to remove the terrible disabilities under which we all labour, the vast system of indigenous schools amongst us is an extensive field in which

we might profitably display our energies, with a reasonable hope of seeing them rewarded by a harvest of solid results. In these *Maktabs* we have plenty of material ready to our hands, only we have to shape it into a particular mould. The task is by no means an impossible one, and the necessities of the hour urgently demand that we should attempt it without much further delay. But it has to be undertaken with an ever-present sense of serious responsibility. Our object is not to stifle early religious teaching in these rote *Maktabs*, however useless it may be, but to supplement it by the elements of secular subjects a knowledge of which is indispensable in all walks of life in modern India. If we should succeed in accomplishing this work, we shall have removed, in the most effective way possible, the one great cause which makes the Musalman boy lag behind his Hindu rival in Government schools. The *Maktab* would then be a preparatory stage for leading the pupil on to the acquisition of more useful knowledge by regular instruction of the modern type, and the ultimate transference from it to a public education institution would be an easy and natural one.

As to the best practicable means of accomplishing this end, I would suggest that the Conference should start by organizing Standing Committees, one in each district of the Punjab, the most important function of which should be to collect the necessary information about all the Musalman *Maktabs* in the district, so as to find out how many of these, on what condition, and to what extent, avail themselves of Government aid; and of the rest what proportion, with reference to the number of pupils, the attainments of the teacher, and the importance of the locality, can profitably add elements of secular instruction to their religious teaching. Each Standing Committee should then provide itself with sufficient funds to help the latter class of schools with pecuniary aid to enable them to extend their courses—this aid being on definite principles in the shape of rewards for each class or payment for passes at the Upper and Lower Primary Examinations, or on any other workable plan that

may seem fit to be adopted. It also appears to be necessary for the better utilization of these *Maktabs* that their number should, if possible, be restricted ; for it is better both for efficiency and discipline that there should be in a village, for example, sixty pupils attending two or three schools than that there should be ten *Maktabs* with six pupils each. The centralization of these schools on a practicably small scale is, in fact, a reform which, in the interest of our educational progress, is just now most urgently required. In short, considering the extreme importance of the subject, and its bearing on the general question of Muhammadan education, I certainly think that it is high time that this Conference should appoint a special Sub-Committee for each Province, with District Standing Committees under its control, to look after the Musalman indigenous schools, and to see that they are henceforward used as a vast store-house to supply pupils to public institutions, and as a medium of disseminating the elements of secular knowledge among the masses.

While on this subject, I think I may take the opportunity of calling your attention to the place which Persian occupies in the curriculum of these schools. A reference to the statistics collected in 1882 will show that purely Persian and Persian Quran schools (i.e., schools in which Persian was taught as a subject) exceeded 3,200 in number, or represented about one-fourth the total number of 13,109 indigenous schools in the Punjab. We also know that, however artificial and unscientific may be the character of the instruction imparted in these schools, some of them teach good classical Persian, a knowledge of which is frequently of great help to such of the pupils as subsequently join public institutions. In this respect, therefore, they sometimes serve as feeders to Government Vernacular schools, and I have no doubt that if their general efficiency and discipline were improved they would more frequently yield satisfactory results. In this connection, however, we have also to remember that the importance of Persian as a subject of study in our public schools and colleges is every year distinctly on the wane, and that

the Musalman students there do not now enjoy the same facilities for its cultivation as they did before.

Within the last ten years Persian has, it seems, incurred the particular displeasure of our Educational authorities, who have learnt to look upon it as exotic which has no right to grow on the Punjab soil. From a compulsory subject at public examination, it was, some years ago, reduced to the position of an optional subject, though still retaining its former place in the departmental Scheme of Studies ; and the process of decline worked slowly on until, very recently, by an irreversible official decree, it has been very nearly dethroned. The General Educational Conference held at Lahore in April 1892, under the presidency of the Director of Public Instruction, was pleased to propose "that with a view to improve the study of English and the Vernacular it is desirable that Persian be cut out of the scheme of studies for Primary Schools." I had the privilege of being a member of the Conference when this proposal was discussed, and I still remember with regret that considerable race-feeling was imported by Hindu and Muhammadan members into the discussion ; but the latter being in the minority the proposal was passed, even after a distinct assurance from the chair that it would never receive the sanction of the Punjab Government. I waited with some anxiety Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick's decision, when at last it was announced that "His Honour is not disposed to go so far as to eliminate Persian entirely from the studies of Primary Schools ; but he agrees to reduce the time given to Persian in Anglo-Vernacular Primary Departments from five to three hours, and as Persian is optional in all the public examinations, to make it also optional in the Schemes of Study for Primary, Middle and High Departments. This, it is understood, will not only set free more time for the study of English in the Primary classes but will dispose of the complaint that Persian, as compared with Arabic and Sanskrit, is unduly encouraged. In all respects these languages will now be placed on an identical footing."

This, then, is the precise position which Persian now

occupies as a subject of study in the Punjab public schools, and it is for this Conference to say whether that position is in all respects commensurate with the educational wants of the Musalman population.

Coming now to secondary education among the Punjab Muhammadans, we have to note with some satisfaction that the old religious prejudice against it has now died away. though other causes are still at work to prevent the Musalmans from competing on equal terms with their Hindu brethren. On this subject the following remarks of three experienced Education Officers are particularly interesting :—

"But in the matter of education, while there are great and obvious differences, coincident with differences of race or hereditary occupation, where these are not conspicuous religion seems to be of comparatively little importance. Among school-masters, for instance, who, whether Hindu or Musalman, belong for the most part by inheritance to a literary class, we shall find that industry and intelligence are equally shared between the two religions; nor are Hindu Jats and Rajputs more ready to accept education than Musalman agriculturists of the same tribe."—(Mr. Pearson's Report on the Umballa Circle 1883-84.)

"In the Peshawar, Rawalpindi, and Hazara districts there are a good many schools attended either entirely, or almost entirely, by Muhammadans. With the above figures and statements before us, it is very hard to see why the idea should be entertained that the Muhammadans keep aloof from Government school education on account of religious prejudices. I notice the above three districts particularly, because they are essentially Muhammadan districts; and when all the circumstances and conditions of these Muhammadans are well considered, I think it is rather a matter for wonder that so many of them attend school. They have not a yearning after office work that the Hindus have. They are chiefly agriculturists, in the proper sense of the word, and have no idea of any work beyond what is to be found in their fields and with their cattle; so that when a person

sees far away out in a district a number of Muhammadan boys attending school, he might naturally wonder why so many do attend school, instead of wondering at a small attendance."—(Mr. Thompson's Report on the Rawalpindi Circle.)

"There are necessarily many minor causes which contribute to some extent towards their inability to avail themselves more largely of secondary education but, on the other hand, there are instances where Muhammadan boys are conspicuous in a school for their quick intelligence and physical development. My experience with regard to Muhammadans is that, by combined unity of action, they are, as a body, well able to pursue their own advantage, and that prejudice and pride which acted as a check to their progress, are fast giving way. Poverty alone remains."—(Dr. Stulpnagel's Report on the Lahore Circle.)

Yes, poverty alone remains; and how is that Musalman poverty to be faced? The question must remain an open one for a long time to come, but the authorities in the Punjab have already, with characteristic kindness, extended to us their patronage and help, and it only remains to be seen when we shall learn to dispense with official crumbs. The complaint of poverty becomes serious when we contrast the high, almost prohibitive, scale of fees now charged in Government and Aided schools and colleges with the fees levied prior to 1884, and at the same time learn to our discomfiture that the Musalman population has not since then improved in any appreciable degree in national prosperity. No less than 60 per cent of this population belong to the agricultural classes, of whom a comparatively large percentage, we are assured on high authority, have undergone the pleasant experience of seeing their lands transferred, mainly through the merciful instrumentality of our Law courts—those Sanctuaries of Justice—to the safe custody of the money-lending community. So common indeed has become this evil that among the minor tillers of the soil the inability to keep the wolf from the door has almost become the distinguishing mark of a Muslim home. With this rising tide of poverty among the Musalman masses, how can

we keep abreast of the advancing times when education is becoming more expensive and less remunerative every day—when all the avenues to public service are nearly choked by a universal scramble for available places? With the limited means at the command of this Conference, we can hardly attempt the cleaning of Augean stables; but mere suggestion of the remedy is in this case of little use unless we can in some way work our energies up to its application. The Education Department in the Punjab has reserved for our benefit a number of free studentships, and of studentships at half rates in Primary and Secondary Departments and in Colleges; and the Provincial revenues have come to our rescue with Jubilee scholarships, which we know from experience have substantially advanced the cause of Muhammadan education. Can we not, in a similar manner, procure the means of rendering some little pecuniary help to a small percentage of diligent and promising Musalman students in schools and colleges who cannot afford to prosecute their studies without such aid? It will be found that in a fairly large number of cases inability to pay the tuition fees, or a portion of them, or the admission fee for an examination or to buy the necessary text books forming the school course, stands in the way of a student who is otherwise well qualified to keep his head above his class, and who would with a little kindly assistance get over all the difficulties which weigh him down to a position of utter despair. High education has, in fact, become now so very expensive that, were it not for the stimulating influences of recent years, you would not expect to find in the Punjab colleges half the number of Musalman students that are now actually on the rolls. In Government colleges, for example, the fees levied are Rs. 8, 10, and 12 a month for students joining the Intermadiate, B.A., and M.A. classes, respectively; while in the High Department of the Anglo-Vernacular Goverment and Board schools a 3rd grade fee of Rs. 2-8-0 and Rs. 3 is levied in the 4th and 5th classes respectively, the rates for the 2nd grade being approximately double, and those for the 1st grade treble of the rates given above. In the case of

Aided colleges and schools the fees levied are not less than 75 per cent. of those fixed for Government and Board institutions. Under these circumstances, it is hardly surprising to find that the number of Musalman students in schools and colleges is still comparatively small; and unless we bestir ourselves to earnest action, there is little hope of the community making a headway in the matter of education.

I may here be permitted to note that in my opinion the Punjab Education Code does not make sufficient provision for the encouragement of education among the children of Musalman agriculturists, as the special Zamindari scholarships, tenable in the Middle and High schools and in colleges, are restricted to Hindu and Sikh Jats and to Rajput agriculturists, who in advanced classes more frequently are of the Hindu or Sikh persuasion. Perhaps if this class distinction were removed, the Musalman boys might also come in for a fair share of the stipends offered to the tillers of the soil. At any rate the circumstances of the case require that this Conference should devote special attention to the education of the Musalman zamindars, who, we have seen, form the bulk of the Muhammadan population in the Punjab.

One great measure, which has often been proposed by men with a practical turn of mind, for ameliorating the backward educational condition of the Punjab Musalmans, is the establishment of Muhammadan schools and colleges where religious and secular instruction may be combined and education of the modern type imparted at less cost than in Government and Aided institutions. How far the attractive theory of combined religious and secular instruction can be put into practice to the benefit of our future generations I shall not presume to examine; but if our deep resolve to take stringent care of our souls is to be measured by the amount of attention we have so far given to the subject, I do not think we are at all entitled to feel proud of our much-talked-of earnestness in matters of religion. The resolutions on this subject passed by the Conference at Lahore in December 1888—I mean Resolutions Nos. 7, 8, 9 and 11—remain to this day perfectly inoperative; and the Director

of Public Instruction, Punjab, specially notes that hitherto no attempt has been made by the Musalmans to avail themselves of the facilities offered by the Government as to the religious instruction of pupils attending Government and Board schools in any part of the Punjab. This at least shows that we are not after all so hopelessly in love with religious teaching as to be scared away from schools where this element is wanting, and also that the establishment of a Muhammadan school or college must find its chief justification in some material circumstances other than the alleged unsuitability of Government institutions to Musalman needs on the score of their purely secular character. Whether this justification exists in the case of all Muhammadan schools in the Punjab I have no time to examine. In this place I need only mention three of these institutions which stand out more prominently than all the others—I mean the Anglo-Arabic High School at Delhi, the Islamia High School at Amritsar, and the Madrasa-tul-Muslimin of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam of Lahore. Of these three, the last school claims, for various reasons, more detailed consideration at our hands: for I believe that if there is any Muhammadan Society in the Punjab which deserves special credit for a really practical, sustained, and patriotic attempt to rouse the Punjab Musalmans from their deep lethargy, and to hold up to them an ideal well worth imitation, it is the Himayat-i-Islam of Lahore. In April 1888 I had occasion to contribute an article to *The Indian Magazine*, the organ of the National Indian Association of London, in which I spoke of this Anjuman in the following terms:—

"The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam was ushered into existence with a tender regard for the religious instincts of the Musalmans in general; and the wise founder, by the spell of his name and by the liberality of his views, drew to himself the heart of many a young man full of religious zeal, and panting for progress and reform. It will be seen that this Anjuman represents a popular rather than an aristocratic or a sectarian movement. A clear line of distinction can, therefore, be drawn between this and the other two Anjumans,

of which mention has been made above. The Anjuman-i-Islamia is no doubt in its own way a very useful Society, and the work it has done in the past could not have been done but by this influential body of men. There is, however, this important difference between that Anjuman and the Himayat-i-Islam, that while the latter is the natural outgrowth of a spontaneous desire on the part of the middle class Muhammadans of Lahore to co-operate with each other for the common good, the former is, as it were, the patched-up work of one individual, and consists of a combination of men unprompted by a sense of duty and untouched by modern influences, yoked together and held fast for the most part against their will. Khan Bahadur Muhammad Barkat Ali Khan is the guiding genius of the Anjuman-i-Islamia. It is he who, like a beneficent task-master, is driving the "raises" of Lahore, the slaves of indolence and luxury, on to their work. It is he who is the mainstay—nay the very life blood—of the Anjuman he has founded, and with the withdrawal of his sustaining power the whole edifice that he has so labouriously erected will one day be a shapeless mass of ruins. Happily the same cannot be said of the Himayat-i-Islam. In this body of earnest men each individual is more or less a useful member bent upon doing some solid good to his community, by working in his own humble sphere to the best of his limited powers for the accomplishment of the objects which the Anjuman has in view."

Since the above was written the Anjuman has steadily grown in importance, and with each advancing year has widened the sphere of its action. It has made greater demands on the national purse, and, on the whole, with more success than, I believe, by any other Muhammadan Society with similar aims in the whole of India. It has now under its management a Madrasa-tul-Muslimin, which from small beginnings in 1886 rose to the position of a High School in 1889. A glance at the following table will show the state of education in the school :—

Years.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	Up to October 1893
Number of scholars on rolls	191	278	373	392	441	549	596	776
Annual expenditure in round numbers.	Rs. 201	Rs. 978	Rs. 2,968	Rs. 4,040	Rs. 5,420	Rs. 7,060	Rs. 8,848	Rs. 7,778

Years.		1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	Up to October 1893
Expenditure per scholar in round numbers		Re. 1	Rs. 3	Rs. 8	Rs. 10	Rs. 12	Rs. 13	Rs. 15	Rs. 10
Number of passes	(Middle School Exam).	..	..	..	5/20	13/19	17/21	22/38	18/50
	Entrance Exam).	..	..	..	..	..	3/12	10/24	19/26
*Scholarships held in the School	Number	..	2	2	6	6	9	10	4
	Total amount	..	Rs. 4	Rs. 4	Rs. 10	Rs. 11	Rs. 14	Rs. 19	Rs. 8

About thirty teachers are employed in the school on salaries ranging between Rs. 5 and Rs. 50. It is worthy of note that during a period of about eight years the school has utilized the services of no less than 99 teachers, with an average salary of Rs. 18 a month, and an average period of service rather less than 18 months each. I particularly note this fact, because it enables us at once to judge

*The average number of scholarships per year in the school is, in round numbers, 5 and their average aggregate value per year Rs. 10.

if the school is under proper management, and to say how far we can confidently count on the elements of stability and efficiency in its constitution. For no one can deny that abrupt and frequent changes in the teaching staff of an educational institution are of all things the most fatal to its success, as they reduce it to the position of a stage in a theatre, where actors come and go, and afford more of excitement to the gaping multitude than real instruction. I really cannot imagine why teachers have so often been changed in the Madrasa-tul-Muslimin, except, perhaps, for the reason that the Anjuman somehow grows sick of an experienced man and wants to have a pleasing variety of schoolmasters ; or it may be (as I was once told by a gentleman who had been a teacher in the Anjuman's school, and who has recently taken refuge in your Provinces as a Munisf), that the Superintendent cannot tolerate a teacher who has the impudence to shave his sacred beard, and adds to his sin by trying to minimize its atrocity on insufficient grounds. Whatever may be the reasons for this arbitrary "rotation of masters" I cannot withhold the remark that such a practice is in the last degree obnoxious to sound discipline and efficiency of instruction in the school, and I earnestly hope that in future that responsible members of the Anjuman's Education Committee will restrain their appetite for brand new teachers with each coming year.

The Anjuman has its own series of tex-books in Urdu, Persian, and also in English, compiled specially for the use of Musalman scholars in Muhammadan schools. This Conference has already expressed its opinion on the merits of the Urdu and Persian books so compiled, and I am not at present inclined in any way to differ from that view. But as to the English Readers prepared by the Anjuman, I, for one, emphatically deny the sufficiency of the reasons set up in support of their preparation, and decidedly think that both in regard to their matter and method they are products of unskilful hands. The Anjuman ought to know, if it does not know this much already, that the compilation of proper English Readers for the use of the Punjab pupils is perhaps

the most difficult task that the Education Department has had to perform through the assistance of some of its ablest English officers, who have had large experience, both as professors and Inspectors of Schools, in public education. The Musalman boys, if they are to know English well, must start with reading books compiled by Englishmen themselves.

Coming now to the question of expenditure, we observe that the maintenance of the school cost the Anjuman altogether Rs. 8,848 in 1892 ; in other words, Rs. 15 per scholar. These figures do not compare favourably with public institutions under the control of the Education Department, where the average cost per scholar in Secondary schools was a little over Rs. 8 in 1891-92. After making due allowance for the fact that the tuition fees levied in the Anjuman's School are much lower than those levied in Government and Board schools, we have still to explain how it is that the Anjuman cannot educate Musalman boys according to the public standards without incurring much larger expenditure than the State, although we know that, in addition to the ordinary secular education, it gives them the benefit of an elementary religious instruction. The number of the scholarships awarded by the Anjuman in the school does not materially affect the calculation, as the disbursements under this head have always been all but nominal. This shows as least that the management of the Madrasa-tul-Muslimin is not proceeding on very satisfactory lines, and that we are buying religious instruction at Lahore perhaps a little too dearly. If the members of the Anjuman are in any way dissatisfied with my main conclusion concerning their school, the blame rests with the school authorities, to whom I am principally indebted for the statistics that I have quoted above.

The anxiety of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam to promote the educational well-being of the Punjab Muhammadans has found its highest expression in the recent establishment in

connection with the school of two college* classes, where instruction is given up to the Intermediate standard of the Punjab University. To the circumstances which led to the formation of these classes I have already alluded in the opening part of this paper. These classes, it will be seen, constitute the very first experiment in the way of establishing a Muhammadan College Department in the Punjab ; and in the best interests of the community, it is of the greatest consequence for us to see whether the new College answers our requirements and is on the whole a move in the right direction. As I have already observed, the too common plea of making provision for religious teaching is scarcely sufficient to supply a valid justification for the adoption of a serious step such as the opening of college classes with Muhammadan funds in connection with a Muhammadan school. The need for such a step must be sought in the proved inadequacy of existing institutions to meet our general educational wants, or to supply us with men and minds capable of guiding us in the world of thought or of action. In these cases we have to bar all questions of implicit reliance on the Omnipotent God, who can make a Muhammadan College prosper if He wills. We have to count the cost and to face hard realities before which the commonplace, though comfortable, doctrine of (توکل علی اللہ†) fades into a barren idea, and the rising tide of which has more than once swept away to destruction the overbold mariner who embarks his ship on perilous waters without rudder or sail. These are not the days when we can safely say——

هرچه باداباد ما کشتی درآب انداختیم‡

* The first year class was opened in May 1892, and consisted of 6 students. At this time there are 10 students in the 1st year class and 9 in the second year. In 1892 the expenditure was about Rs. 468, and in 1893; about Rs. 899; the average cost per scholar in the two years being Rs. 57. There are four scholarship holders in the college, the aggregate value of the stipends being Rs. 10. The fee levied is Rs. 2 in each class.

† Resignation to God's will.

‡ "Come what may, we have cast our boat on the sea."

Before a Muhammadan college can succeed in the Punjab it must conclusively show that the education imparted there is in no way inferior to that given in Government institutions ; that it is more popular among the community in general than the latter ; and lastly, that compared with any non-Muhammadan College it gives, on the whole, cheaper instruction. In the case of the Anjuman's College, the last two points may be conceded in its favour for the sake of argument (though even on these I can say much on the other side), but as to the first point I decidedly think that the verdict must be given against the Himayat-i-Islam. I cannot characterize this College better than by saying that it is a patchwork of misdirected Jesuit piety and misapplied good intentions—an institution where raw youths may learn how to blow the soap-bubbles of shallow knowledge, and qualify themselves to be ultimately invested with the Insignia of the Grand Order of Cram. I have no desire to sit in judgment over the qualifications of the teaching staff in charge of the college classes, but any one can see that it is impossible for the Anjuman to have even third class Professors on a salary of Rs. 50 a month. The hard-worked Principal receives Rs. 110 per mensem ; and we need scarcely be surprised, therefore, when we hear that for some time past he has been working at law to qualify himself as a Pleader in order to improve his position. In fact the Professors in the Anjuman's College are mere birds of passage, and each of them holds his present appointment as a mere stepping stone to better chances for promotion and success in another walk of life.

This state of affairs can scarcely promise us any good results from the College, when we clearly see that in the nature of things, it is practically impossible to expect the Professorial staff to take an abiding personal interest either in the College or in the students who join it ; none of them being able or willing to devote himself heart and soul to his work without clear prospects of substantial reward for industry in the shape of regular promotion, which the Anjuman cannot afford to offer. And this is not all. The

fiscal position of the Anjuman is a perfect engima to those who think that all large movements depend for their stability before all things on a permanent source of income yielding sufficient at all times to meet the necessary expenses. This common-sense doctrine the pious members of the Anjuman have all along, with a good deal of righteous indignation, flung to the winds as a pernicious heresy, and in the plenitude of their wisdom have preferred to build their school and college on a foundation of sand. The good old Muhammadan dogma, that it is a big sin to receive interest on money in the shape of money (for that is what the whole doctrine, as understood by the Anjuman, comes to) has prevented it from creating a capital fund which, vested in a Bank or elsewhere, could have yielded an annual income sufficient in the ordinary course of things to meet current expenditure. Disdaining to adopt this easy and natural course, the Anjuman has chosen the unsafe alternative of humouring the "nation" (قوم) and playing the game of excitement (جوش) with each coming year, making nice ducks and drakes during the succeeding twelve months with the money it thus receives. In this connection there is at least this much to be said in favour of the Anjuman, that it faithfully represents a fault which is characteristic of the Musalman community at large.*

On the whole then, taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration, I think it would be decidedly more conducive to our educational welfare, that the Anjuman should abolish its college classes, retaining its high school, and with the money thus set free, together with other funds collected for the purpose, award scholarships on certain conditions to deserving Musalmans studying in high schools and colleges in the Punjab. I may be mistaken, but my firm

* During the nine years of its existence the Anjuman has collected subscriptions altogether to the amount of Rs. 1,02,514, of which Rs. 95,619 represent the disbursements, the balance in the hands of the Treasurer being at the end of November about Rs. 6,895. The only property which the Anjuman can call its own is a building worth Rs. 13,500, which accommodates the school and college classes.

conviction is that we in the Punjab are not yet in a fit condition to start and work our own College, and that it is better by far that we should have no College to boast of than that we may have one which could only be pointed at with the finger of scorn. A still more forcible argument against such rash experiments is furnished by the impropriety, indeed I may say the danger, of unnecessarily multiplying class institutions in this country. The modern tendency of setting up household gods, so to speak, in the shape of denominational schools, is not without its evil consequences to the native races in the Punjab. Already the Hindus and Muhammadans stand permanently apart with the impassable stream of antagonistic religious and social opinions running between them, across which it is becoming more and more difficult for them every day to shake hands with at least a show of cordiality. Is it then really to our common advantage that we should laboriously try to add to this distance of feeling by replenishing separate educational institutions where Hindus may learn to become more exclusively Hindu, and Musalmans more rigidly and, it may be, more fanatically Muslim ? The Government schools have created amongst us a common platform, where the rising hopes of both the communities can meet in familiar schoolboy intercourse and learn one another's failings and virtues, where the clash of interests may be softened down by mutual concessions gladly made ; where the Hindu may learn the pluck and imperious self-respect of the full-blooded Musalman, and the Musalman profit by the perseverance and accommodating pliability of the meek Hindu. Let us not cast this blessing disdainfully aside, and in the blind race-conceit of the hour set up purely class colleges with the main object of emphasising congenital differences between the two communities, so as ultimately to crystallize them into two irreconcileable creeds. If you really feel the need for such Colleges, by all means have them, but your prime duty is in all cases to establish as definitely as possible this element of need. In such cases sentiment must always count for a negligible quantity, nor is it desirable to have a College as a mere

ornamental appendage to a school or as an enjoyable luxury. The whole question is one of rupees, annas and pies ; and if we cannot afford these, then for God's sake let us not promote false nationality at the expense of sound education, and court well-merited ridicule by dressing up the tailor's dummy in English costume and trying to pass it off as a Pall Mall masher.

I am afraid, gentlemen, I have trespassed too much upon your valuable time and patience ; and it now rests with you to say if I have at all deserved the kindly indulgence which you have so generously extended to me this evening. If what I have said in these pages has thrown any light on the subject of Muhammadan education in the Punjab, and supplied you with food for reflection, I shall consider that my labours have been more than repaid, and your time not wholly thrown away. I have approached the subject more as a student and an impartial critic than as a dogmatist or a flatterer ; and wherever I have differed from received opinions, I have differed without being influenced by an impulse of carping criticism or any partisan feeling. I feel the weight of my own responsibility ; and I feel also that I have undertaken to speak, not on behalf of myself or any one individual but in furtherance of a common cause. My part has been simply that of a spokesman, according to my own lights, for the millions who are voiceless in the matter and who cannot fully speak out their minds even through a thousand tongues. Whether I have faithfully represented their needs is an important question, but whether you are honestly and earnestly prepared to supply them is a question more important still. The time has certainly come when you must give articulate expression to the shapeless thoughts of the Musalman masses in this country ; and now that you have presumed to act for these uncared-for creatures of God, act so that the coming generations of young Musalmans may point with pride to the brilliant records of your deeds, and say : "These our forefathers strove and worked right manfully to promote our common weal." This is not a barren appeal to your sentiment, but a sincere and sacred call to

duty ; and knowing, as all of us here do, the glorious work that has been accomplished before our wondering eyes through the noble exertions of one individual, there is small reason why you should not meet this call with a devout response. Just stretch your thoughts forty years back and picture to yourselves the dark days when Western culture had not yet shed its gentle light on the Punjab plains ; when sombre clouds foreboding storm were hanging heavy and low on all sides, and war and peace were preparing for a terrible death struggle ; when lo ! all of a sudden the mine is fired, the explosion startles the country from its sleep, and the clash of arms sends a current horror thrilling through the land. What was the condition of the Musalmans then ? And what are they now ? They had risen in a mood of raving madness against their stars, unmindful of their own well-being and of the lessons which the changing times loudly teach to a debased and self-enslaved race. Smitten down by the iron hand of the imperious Preceptor, they lay prostrate for a time, heedless of the passers-by, until the warning voice of one among them was heard in the deep stillness, calling upon them, with an earnestness all his own, to be up and join the race of time. He was ridiculed, he was scorned, he was treated to a loud chorus of dissentient voices, until his own was almost drowned in the hideous uproar ; but he persevered on trusting to his God and his own head and heart, and, like the coursing sun, deviated not one jot from the line of duty he had laid down for himself. The fruits of his labours you all see with your own eyes to-day in shapes which are too material to be ignored—labours which have made it possible for us for the first time to look up and call ourselves a national institution which, in spite of its incompleteness, commands our confidence and claims our undivided sympathy, and invites us all to rally round our national standard. Whatever sorrows may have been our portion in the past, we know that by working on the lines which have been chalked out for us by the revered Secretary of this Conference, we shall hasten the day of our redemption, and ultimately rise to the position of a self-reliant and emanci-

pated community. Happily the period of our probation is about to end, as we have learned now to bear with patience the severities of the modern age——not only to bear them but to profit by the wholesome discipline which they are meant to enforce. To those who can read the signs of the times, the future of our community in this country is not altogether a hopeless blank ; and even at this distance of time one can clearly see that the welkin of Islam is not without its rising stars, which may yet guide the national craft through dark and foaming waters on to a safe shore. Just now we only require a skilful pilot who can steer clear of the rocks on all sides and land us in a place where, secure from all danger, we can work in peace and grow and prosper, and create a happy world not only for ourselves but for all who are bound to us by the sacred ties of fellow-feeling and of humanity.

From the bottom of our grateful hearts, let us bless those who have given us this long spell of unbroken peace, which of all boons is the most priceless in a country like India ; and with our minds bent upon righteous deeds and our hands uplifted to the Giver of all things, let us bend our knees reverently before the Great Master, who has said—

ان الله لا یغیر ما بقوم حتی یغیرو ا ما بانفسهم*

* For translation of this Quranic verse see page 33.

II

A LECTURE

TO

THE STUDENTS OF ALIGARH COLLEGE

DECEMBER 28, 1894

Gentlemen——

IN this short paper I propose, with your permission, to jot down a few desultory observations on sundry points of general educational interest, intended chiefly for the young gentlemen, and more especially the students of this College, who form part of my audience this morning. I am not aware if at any sittings of this Conference in past years it has been considered permissible to address a discourse exclusively to one particular section of the members present; but whether or not a precedent exists in my favour in this respect, I shall ask you to allow me for once to indulge in this harmless departure from the common practice, if only for the purpose of enabling me to reach most effectively the really vital portion of the audience, whose present educational well-being and subsequent advancement in life are with all of us here the chief ends in view.

In addressing, then, these few words to you, my young friends of the Aligarh College, I shall start with the assumption that in joining this institution your primary object is, not to pass off as clever bookworms by achieving success at public examinations, or through such success to secure a firm foothold in Government service, but, above all things, to get the inestimable benefit of a truly sound education. It is doubtless true that ever since the organisation of the Indian Universities and the consequent introduction of the Western ways of learning, circumstances in this country have rendered

it impossible to test educational qualifications otherwise than by holding public examinations, and that as a natural consequence the ability to pass an examination has come to be considered the sole criterion of a young man's intellectual attainments. It is scarcely a matter for wonder, therefore, to find that our public schools and colleges, ignoring altogether the true end of education and the destiny of the educated man, have converted themselves into so many educational hot-houses for forcing out an ever-increasing number of passed men who are considered clever, simply because they have successfully gone through a prescribed course of academical instruction. The speedy achievement of concrete results in the shape of "passes," rather than the employment of an intelligent process for developing the natural powers of the thinking man, seems to be the highest ideal of the educationist of to-day : he looks to the quantity rather than to the quality of the articles manufactured at such heavy cost by that most mechanical of all modern machines, euphemistically called an Arts College. If this be also your idea of education and of educational institutions, and if you have joined this college with the sole object of having your heads crammed full of book-knowledge as a helpful means of standing high in the pass-list, then the sooner you bid farewell to Aligarh the better for you and for the reputation of his institution. I should certainly not be understood as saying that book-learning is of no value, and that examinations are to be heartily despised. Text-books and examinations have their own appropriate value, and I shall always be the first to strongly rebuke the young man who would at any time treat these with contemptuous indifference. But, with this allowance, I shall ask my young friends in this hall to cast aside for the moment the popular cramped view of education as being identical with, and confined to, a set course of instruction in this or that school or college, and to think of it as a process of active self-growth co-extensive with the whole work of a man's life. Enlarge your field of vision for an instant to take a comprehensive view of what education embraces, and you will find that it covers the whole extent of

your mental horizon, sets into vibration the finest fibres of your moral nature, and supplies sap and vigour to the physical man. In short, education, in the true acceptation of the word is nothing less than the harmonious development of the intellectual, moral, and physical powers of man, which lies at the root of the healthy organic evolution of society, and is the condition precedent to the realization in practical life of the highest good to which the spirit of man can aspire. Considered in this aspect, true education is the universal form of good, giving proper shape to all the virtues worth striving after; and the noble yet difficult work of the educationist, running, as it does, all along the undulating line of human action, embracing all the intricacies of the science of life and of the art of living. This is not a speculative theory of education, but the only rational view of it which an intelligent young man can form for his own guidance; and it is mainly in the interests of this kind of education, as distinct from mere book-learning, that I propose to address you a few words this morning.

Education in its three-fold aspects to which I have alluded above—namely, the intellectual, moral, and physical culture of man—is to be considered primarily as subservient to the promotion of the highest social good by enabling the educated man to perform efficiently the active work of life in all the varied relations of human society. And for this life-work, intellectual cleverness is by no means the one thing needful. Nor would any one of you here be so bold as to say that your cricket matches and foodball club suffice to train you to a life of healthy citizenship in which mere physical strength is not a very important factor. There remains, then, the cultivation of the moral faculties, which, for the important place it fills in the programme of individual and national life, I would inculcate upon you with all the earnestness I can command. From the highest functions of the spirit and sense of which man is capable, descend to the minutest details of human action on this side of the grave, and you will find that your moral nature comes into contact with the realities of life much oftener and closer than your purely

intellectual self; that the heart is much more human in its affinities than the head; and that taking the social relations of mankind in the aggregate, the suzerainty of the world of proper action is by natural right the heritage of the moral sense rather than of the intellect of man. Intellectual eminence is, for many reasons, a very desirable thing in this world, but mental gifts, even of a high order, rightly prized more than treasures of burnished gold, can scarcely fill the gap in human life created by moral poverty. You may occupy ever so high a position in the world of letters, claiming the humble homage of the votaries of learning, as a prince among men, fit to lead them out of the darkness of ignorance into the light of knowledge; but if your moral growth is stinted, your character uncultivated, and your will uncontrolled, your life is a bright instance of glorious failure and you like a beacon high upon a rock to serve as a warning to all who venture on the ocean of life without the light of proper moral guidance.

Let every one of you, therefore, start with this as the first principle of his life—that a properly-cultivated character and a well-disciplined will are far more valuable than any amount of mere book-learning and brain-power; and that for you to live life on the strength of intellectual cleverness without possessing excellence of character, is to attempt to steer your ship on a stormy sea without rudder, compass, or chart.

Assuming the cultivation of the moral faculties to be the indispensable part of the education of a young man in your position in life, let us proceed to consider briefly a few requisites of such moral culture.

The first remark I should make on this part of the subject is that your prime duty to yourselves is always to exercise the greatest caution in the choice of your companions, including under this heading the companionship of books as well as of friends. The books that you read exert quite as powerful an influence on the formation of your character as do the most intimate of your friends; and hence it is that a man is known as much by the books he reads as by the

company he keeps. Indeed, impression which books make on the young reader is oftentimes even deeper and more enduring than that made by a friend ; the ideas conveyed to him through a book become part and parcel of his mental furniture, and the book becomes his companion, more faithful and constant even than his own shadow, never parting company with him even in the dark depths of a starless night. I would therefore earnestly advise you all to be even more careful in the selection of your books than in the choice of your friends ; for you cannot cast away a bad book once read with the same ease with which you can shun a bad companion.

From my past experience as a student I think I can say with confidence that there is scarcely a class of men guilty of greater indiscrimination in the conduct of their own affairs than are the advanced students in their selection of the books they read. To develop into a miscellaneous reader is, to my mind, the greatest misfortune that can befall a serious student. Not that he is bound in all conscience to limit his studies to the dry text-books prescribed for his examination. That would, indeed, be nipping his healthy mental growth in the bud, and counteracting, at a time when nature is deeply sensitive and pliable, the expansion of his youthful sympathies by contact with larger minds that sway the thought of the advancing world. But the necessity of very strictly narrowing the circle of your acquaintance with books becomes apparent when we take stock of the thousands and tens of thousands of printed volumes turned out every year by a merciless press to the infinite horror of the distracted reader ; and when on a close examination of these mountains of reams, we find that with much indifferent matter they contain a vast deal which is positively bad for the head and worse for the heart, and that of the microscopic quantity of the good in them, solid nine-tenths are the mutilated repetitions of ancient thought and culture, in a form too prosaic to quicken the conscience of a worldly-wise generation. Indeed, it would seem as if the great blessing of the printing press was destined to be worked into a curse upon mankind by

being used as means for facilitating the drowning of original thought in a sea of ink, and helping at the burial of the great epoch-making books under a Himalaya of inferior prints.

For each of you as a lover of knowledge, the safest course to pursue is to hold fast to the great books in all branches of literature, which, as repositories of the best thought of the best ages, have withstood the test of time; and to turn a deaf ear to the proclaimed merits of the latest curiosity on the bookstall which brags the loudest, but is least worthy of your confidence. The time at your disposal being so very limited, your first aim must necessarily be select reading, and even of the select books which you study, trust your heart and soul only to those sweet-scented roses in the garden of letters which may impart their own bright colours to your actions, and encircle your whole life with the sacred halo of their rich fragrance. Can any of you in sober earnestness claim even one-tenth of this for the numberless noisy and ostentatious books which with their names and contents tempt the credulous reader? Can you say this much of the modern sensational novels with attractive titles, which, claiming to reveal to a gaping multitude the mysteries of life, are gradually destroying the stable equilibrium of moral principles, and insidiously poisoning the precious life-blood of frail humanity? What hope is there of the growth of wholesome moral ideas in a young man who cannot face what he is pleased to term the tiresome monotony of short railway journey without providing himself with "The Mysteries of a Hansom Cab," or some other of the thousand and one tales of horror, misfortune, and human passion run mad, which beautify the railway bookstall, and for which there is such a terrible demand in this scandal and sensation-loving age? You, my young friends, would be well advised to keep constant company with great and good books to save your impressionable natures from the deadly contagion of small, unwholesome prints; for passionate and inexperienced youth is a favourable soil for wrong ideas to strike a deep root in, which will afterwards fructify to embitter you for

life with a harvest of sorrowful results.

So far as to the companionship of books.

The companionship of friends I have placed on the same footing with the companionship of books, for I believe both books and friends influence character by a process based upon identical principles of active sympathy.

The need for a careful selection of friends is one of the accepted maxims lying at the root of all schemes of right living. For you who stand on the threshold of life to have a large number of so-called friends, indicates not only that you have a mistaken idea of the force and sanctity of association and of the object of human intercourse but also that your power of self-guidance has not developed into that disciplinary control over your own habits and thoughts which is independent of the stimulus of constant external contact and example. Leave it to those that are fond of "modish and worldly alliances" to enjoy the affliction of a swarm of summer friends with whom to pass an idle hour ; your time and attention are far too valuable to be the property of fools who would barter life for a hollow laugh. Of such friends the poet has truly said :—

> He cast off his friends as huntsman his pack ;
> For he knew, when he pleased, he could whistle them back.

Remember always that a crowd is not company, and that the larger the number of your companions, the greater the danger of your character being exposed to moral contamination. Your frequent friendships would also minimise your opportunities of self-acquaintance and thoughtful solitude, which, while imparting the needful elasticity to your spirit of self-reliance, strengthen and purify your personal relations with the outside world.

"If company cannot alter us," says Seneca, "it may interrupt us ; and he that so much as stops upon the way, loses a great deal of a short life, which we yet make shorter by our inconstancy. There should be no venturing of tender and easy natures among the people, for it is odds that they will go over to the major party."

Of all men the students as a class should be the last to trust to the chapter of accident in the matter of choosing friends. Though you need not all agree with Emerson when he says that "we walk alone in the world and that friends, such as we desire, are dreams and fables," yet you must not hold within your embrace as a bosom friend every passing shadow of a man, and assign it the place appropriate to a living soul.

The sort of friend you choose and the kind of friendship you claim must be such as the writer pictures in his own expressive language—

"A friend," says he, "is a person with whom I may be sincere. Before him I may think aloud. I am arrived at last in the presence of a man, so real and equal, that I may drop even those undermost garments of dissimulation, courtesy, and second thought which men never put off, and may deal with him with the simplicity and wholeness with which one chemical atom meets another." "Friendship," he goes on to say, "is for aid and comfort through all the relations and passages of life and death. It is fit for serene days, and graceful gifts and country rambles ; but also for rough roads and hard fare, shipwreck, poverty, and persecution. We are to dignify to each other the daily needs and offices of man's life, and embellish it by courage, wisdom, and unity. It should never fall into something settled and usual, but should be alert and inventive, and add rhyme and reason to what was drudgery."

If this ideal union of the hearts be but a rare attainment in practical life, you can at least attempt a one-sided approach to it by choosing for your associate a man of cultivated character and virtuous persistency, whose warning voice you would listen to with respect, and who by precept and example would help you in removing the many self-created obstacles to your moral elevation.

"For, there is no man," says Lord Lytton, "so friendless but that he can find a friend sincere enough to tell him disagreeable truths." And if you can find such a friend, prize him as a rare gift of God, yield to him the exclusive sovereignty of your confiding heart, "grapple him to your

soul with hoops of steel," and let him tyrannize over the army of your affections as much as he will, for by such tyranny you will ultimately gain in moral power, and grow inwardly strong with the strength of his rule. He would always be your faithful mirror, and show you as you are, and not as you would like to appear to an appearance-loving world, thus giving you a chance of beautifying your behaviour to win the golden approbation of all truth-loving souls. For, "A beautiful behaviour," as Emerson so finely puts it, "is better than a beautiful form ; it gives a higher pleasure than statues and pictures ; it is the finest of the fine arts."

Take care, therefore, that you always choose for your companions men of sterling moral worth, and eschew the society of those that smell of moral turpitude ; for the companionship of these, by nursing your base passions, will make you their slave, and after a tempest-tossed existence, leave you a moral wreck to be a fit warning to mankind. Remember what the poet says—

> The race of life becomes a hopeless flight
>
> To those that walk in darkness : on the sea
>
> The boldest steer but where their ports invite ;
>
> But there are wanderers o'er eternity
>
> Whose bark drives on and on, and anchored ne'er shall be.

Blessed through life are those sons of man whose ideal of friendship is as lofty as it is pure, who regard it as the sweet cement of tender hearts and the sum total of sacred feelings that feed the universal soul of a sincere and sympathetic humanity. Who amongst us has not more than once in life felt etherealized and elevated above the gross world of sense, when for a moment the guardian angel of pure friendship descends, as from high heaven, with golden wings outstretched, to bless the struggling crowd below, and to lift the grovelling soul up into the realms of purity,

goodness, and virtue? And who has not seen sometimes paraphrased into prosaic life the poetic truth which the Nightingale of Shiraz sings in such melodious strains as these—

گل خوشبوے در حمام روزے   رسید از دست محبوبے به دستم
بدو گفتم که مشکی یا عبیری   که از بوئے دل آویز تو مستم
بگفتا من گل نا چیز بودم   و لیکن مدتے با گل نشستم
جمال هم نشیں در من اثر کرد   وگرنه من همه خا کم که هستم*

The reading of good books and the keeping of good company are doubtless invaluable aids to the development of moral excellence in a young man, but in order to achieve noble victories in your frequent contests with the passions, you must timely learn to be independent of such external aid. I believe ninety-nine young men out of every hundred never think of cultivating that power of self-acquaintance and self-analysis which lies at the root of all moral discipline, and without which healthy moral culture is an impossibility. In order that you may be able at all times to properly regulate your desires, suppressing some among them as headstrong rebels, while encouraging others as useful motive powers, it is needful for you to study deeply the springs of your actions—the predisposing causes of your conduct—and to know the strong points and the weaknesses in your character as critically as if you were another man.

To this end you must learn to be frequently alone, in order to commune in confidence with your still and solitary soul. For it is in moments of such solitude—where we are least alone—that the conscience of man walks forth unveiled in all its heaven-commissioned authority to hold, as it were, a review of the army of your desires, to judge of the efficiency

* In the bath, one day, a piece of perfumed clay
Came into my hands from the hands of one beloved.
I addressed it saying: "Musk art thou or ambergris.
For I am intoxicated with thy ravishing fragrance?"
"I was a worthless piece of clay," it said,
"But for a time I associated with the rose;
The virtue of my companion took effect on me,
Otherwise I am the self-same earth that I was."
—From the translation of Sadi's *Gulistan* by John T. Platts.

of your moral forces, and with a thundering voice commands you to guard the kingdom of the heart from the perfidious attack of the warring passions that are your deadliest foe. It is in such moments that you feel that the "kingdom of heaven" is within you, not without ; that however strong may be the power of low, worldly desires, your inborn powers of resistance are stronger still ; that you are endowed by kindly nature with virtuous energy, if only you learn how virtuously to energize ; and that in your own self you have got the surest and the safest guide to all excellence in life if only you will have the courage and the faith to be rightly guided by yourself. Say what the noisy man of the world may against solitude, I do believe that it has its uses like adversity ; and for young men especially it is an invaluable means for nursing their passion for moral perfection.

> And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
> Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in everything.

The cultivation of the power of self-acquaintance to which I have called your attention, is all the more essential to excellence of character, as without it you will find it difficult to strengthen your power of moral self-control and without the fullest of self-control a young man would all his life be blown about by the passions like a canoe at the mercy of the ocean waves.

"In the supremacy of self-control," says Herbert Spencer, "consists one of the perfections of the ideal man. Not to be impulsive—not to be spurred hither and thither by each desire that in turn comes uppermost—but to be self-restrained, self-balanced, governed by the joint decision of the feelings in council assembled, before whom every action shall have been fully debated and calmly determined—that it is which education, moral education at least, strives to produce."

Let your first aim in life, therefore, be to acquire the necessary will-power to keep under effectual restraint your turbulent impulses, and then who is more deserving than you of the great poet's praise ?

"Brave conquerors ! for so you are,
That war against your own affections,
And the huge army of the world's desires."

To the same effect are the golden words of our own Poet-laureate of Delhi—

بڑے موذی کو مارا نفس امارا کو گر مارا
نہنگ و اژدھا و شیر نر مارا تو کیا مارا
نہ مارا آپ کو جو خاک ہو اکسیر ہو جاتا
اگر پارے کو اے اکسیر گر مارا تو کیا مارا

After what I have said above as to the need for very great caution in the choice of friends, you must not run away with the idea that young men in your position in life must cultivate habits of exclusiveness and worship cynicism as a great virtue. On the contrary, I would strongly advise you all to outgrow that reprehensible narrowness of mind, which is the cause of all the selfishness and the sad deficiency of moral earnestness in this world, and which, like an incurable canker, eats into the core of true manhood in life. Let not your sympathies be limited to a certain class of actions or of men in particular walks of life, to the rigid exclusion of others not conformable to your ways of thinking or living. The tub-life of an imperious Diogenes is the last thing in the world a young man should aspire to ; and he would, indeed, be a sorry specimen of living humanity who, wrapped up in the shroud of his own thoughts, should lead life like a breathing mummy among men. What would you think of a man who were to delve and tend only an inch or two of ground in a large garden, perfectly indifferent to the vast smiling flower-fields around him, and jealous of any intrusion on his own paltry possession? If you must live an active life, live it with sympathies broad as the boundless air, and with an expansive and all-embracing soul, before which the whole world of humanity may be a mere speck, as before

* If you kill your carnal self, you kill a tyrant indeed,
It is nothing if you merely kill an alligator, a dragon or a mighty tiger.
You subdued not yourself so that your dust could turn into elixir.
O alchemist ! what if you subdued quicksilver to your will !

time and space.

Of all conditions of men in this world, the narrow-minded young man is the most unfortunate creature, and of all forms of narrowness of mind in him self-sufficiency is perhaps the most contemptible. It seems to have become the fashion now-a-days for a young man after he has acquired a smattering of some branch of knowledge to think he knows, not something but a great deal of everything ; to walk with an air of profound scholarship on the tip-toe of privileged superiority ; and to hold everything and every person cheap as if he had been born, not, indeed, with a silver spoon but with the sacred scroll of revealed knowledge, in his mouth. This sort of young man, depend upon it, will never succeed in life. Setting too high a value upon himself and despising things and men, he will never learn to cultivate the faculty of admiration, born of "keen insight and noble passion," which is the priceless possession of healthy-minded youth. For he is slow to admire true moral greatness, who is slow to see it ; and he who is slow to admire, will be slow to imitate. Upon him the soul-stirring example of a great man will be entirely lost, and he alone will be cold as a clod of earth when under the electric influence of a fervid soul the wide world would be set on fire.

"I believe," says Dr. Arnold, "that *nil admirari* is the Devil's favourite text ; and he could not choose a better to introduce his pupils into the more esoteric parts of his doctrine, and therefore I have always looked upon a man infected with the disorder of anti-romance as one who has lost the finest part of his nature, and his best protection against everything low and foolish."

Each of you, therefore, must cultivate enthusiastic admiration for great men and golden deeds, for it is by admiring these in a spirit of feeling reverence that you can lift yourself up to their high level. Begin life with worshipping lofty ideals of purity, goodness, and virtue as worked out in human conduct, and you will, by the force of sympathy and by unconsciously imitating your heroic examples, realize in you own character something of the excellence which you

so ardently admire. "Tell me whom you admire," says a Christian thinker, "and I will tell you what you are, at least as regards your talents, tastes, and character." The future of a young man is hopeless in whom the contemplation of great models of heroic action in the various departments of human activity—men of undaunted moral courage and iron will, of indefatigable energy and unconquerable perseverance, of firm purpose and high resolve—does not stir a little reverent enthusiasm, which is the true salt of youth, and without which nothing useful in life has ever been well attempted or done.

For you, the students of the Aligarh College, the noble example of the great founder of this magnificent institution is a sufficient inspiration. Think of the intense personal interest, partaking of brotherly love, he has all along felt for the Indian Musalmans ; think of the fervid zeal, burning almost to white heat, with which he began more than thirty years ago to work for their educational weal ; of the laborious days and sleepless nights he devoted to his cherished task ; of the many obstacles deliberately thrown in his way ; of the disappointments he met with, the evil words showered upon him by calumnious tongues, the sonorous anathemas of learned *Maulvis* with which he was pursued ; and with all this of the unruffled firmness of mind with which he held on to his new work, smiling at the aimless ravings of the clamorous crowd around ; think, I say, of this his chequered but glorious life work ; and then tell me if it is possible for young men like you to resist the magnetic influence of his strong personality, or for any Musalman, young or old, not to feel his soul stirred to its very depths by a generous impulse of admiration for the wonders which this great man has worked almost singlehanded, in the face of arduous difficulties, with a singleness of purpose and purity of aim, almost unsurpassed in modern Hindustan. After a long life of deep thinking and earnest acting, of countless difficulties cheerfully faced and nobly overcome,—a life of incessant hand-to-hand struggle with ignorance, prejudice, and hydra-headed superstition,—he, the hero, not of this hour and of

this place but of the age and of the whole Muhammadan India, now sits easy in conscience, in the enviable enjoyment of the supreme pleasure of having his fond dream fairly realized in his own lifetime. Sits, did I say?—no, with him there is no sitting still;—even after his lifelong toil and trouble, after having counted in the interests of others his noble threescore and ten, he still toils on with an energy and vivacity characteristic of the spring-time of youth. His active and unselfish life is a well-stored armoury from which each of you can draw his own weapons of useful action; and when armed with these you will all march forth into the battle-field of life, the very elements will hail you as the conquerors of your success in the world. Take him for your model, him who amongst us now shines the brightest with the effulgence of "sweetness and light"; who as a prominent link between the old world of Muslim ideas and the new, binds us of this volatile age to the solidity of the past; who combines in his person the progressive spirit of modern times with much that is worthy of endurance in the Muslim conservatism of old; who is, perhaps, the noblest specimen of a rare class of men who in private life practise almost to a word what they publicly preach. Yes, take him for your model, and try to live up to his high level, and let his fatherly advice always be to you a lesson and a law; and thus you will all gradually but surely rise in the scale of holy living, and grow rich with the inestimable riches of sterling virtue, to become a real power among men. For remember—

> The purest treasure mortal times afford,
> Is,—spotless reputation; that away,
> Men are but gilded loam, or painted clay.

Remember also the soul-stirring words which with attentive ears you can hear spoken as if by a solemn voice from the poet's grave:

یاد داری که وقت زادن تو   همه خندان بدند و تو گریان
آنچنان زی که بعد مردن تو   همه گریان شوند و تو خندان

* For translation of these verses see page 68.

12

THE LIVING INFLUENCE OF THE DEAD*

THE value of an anniversary, such as the one we are celebrating to-day, chiefly consists in its enabling us to recall to our minds, not the lamentable death but the noble life and nobler work of a great man, who, though dead, yet exercises a far more real and beneficial influence on our lives than many in this land of the living with whom we come into daily and hourly contact in the onward march of existence. When a person who claims our affection or admiration passes away from amongst us, we feel a sudden and spontaneous pang of sorrow caused by the snapping of that delicate chord of human affinity which though light as air is yet stronger than iron, and which binds together with more or less strength all the members of the human race. Over and above this, we feel a sense of personal loss in having parted company with one on whom our frail affections had learned to lean or whom we had fondly looked upon as our guide, philosopher, and friend ; and our sense of loss grows deeper and our despair all the keener as after the first few hours of overpowering sorrow, the deadly reality dawns upon us that the cold grave will never restore what the merciless hand of death has snatched away. We feel that an actor on the stage of life has suddenly departed and the curtain has fallen, behind which the keenest sight cannot penetrate. We try in vain to hear the voice which was our solace, perhaps our only hope, but which, alas ! is now lost for ever in the primeval silence. We strain our eyes in vain to see the face which is now no more. We resign ourselves to

* An address delivered at a meeting held at Lahore on the 29th March, 1902 in celebration of the Fourth Anniversary of the death of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.



GROUP TAKEN AT NAWAB AHSAN ULLAH'S HOUSE AT CALCUTTA ON 31ST DECEMBER, 1899
Mian Shah Din is standing 7th from right, behind Nawab Ahsan Ullah (with turban), on whose right sit Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Maulana Nazir Ahmad and Mian Muhammad Shafi in front.

the inevitable, deriving consolation from utter hopelessness, which so many have shared before us and will share hereafter ; and begin fondly to believe that what is denied to us in this world, we shall claim in the next, and that we shall assuredly meet the object of our desires face to face in the blissful regions beyond the grave.

In thus thinking of our departed friends, we give too much prominence to the apparent and the transitory ; and are apt to forget that, however great may be the physical change involved in death, it does not and cannot effect a complete separation between the living and the dead, and that, paradoxical as it may sound, a perpetual communion is kept up between the seen and the unseen in the innumerable little daily acts of our life. The living are no doubt irrevocably lost to the dead, but not so the dead to the living : these keep constant company and work with those they seem to leave behind,—a companionship and a work truly faithful and disinterested such as none on this side of the grave are capable of ; since here, in the very nature of things, a legitimate sense of personal benefit through an advanced community or country, or the powerful incentive to fame in one shape or another must work in the noblest of minds to an end. These are the concomitants of a conscious effort towards advancement, but these would avail us little without the unconscious help of those that have laboured to mould for us our present existence, and whose good actions will accompany each successive generation of mankind from its cradle to its grave. In speaking of our existence and experience in relation to time, it is customary to talk with evident contempt of the past as dead and to glorify the present as the living and as the only durable basis of the superstructure of the future amelioration of man. Let the poetical moralist talk in this strain to whip up the dormant enegies of a sluggish humanity ; but in spite of his well-meant preaching, the "dead past" will not "bury its dead," and the "living present" must live by borrowing the Promethian fire of the life-giving past.

Just as it is impossible to think of and know the present except in relation to and through the past, so it is impossible

to speak of existing human activities and of their ultimate bearing upon the prospective well-being of man without referring to the great commonwealth of the dead, buried under the debris of bygone ages, which has left for our guidance an interminable list of decrees indelibly written upon the scroll of time. It is the behests of this invisible hierarchy that we follow day and night in the world of religion, of morals, of intellectual beliefs, and of social usage, with an intense faith which many of us are reluctant to acknowledge, but which it is necessary every now and then to clearly realize and to appropriately define and enforce as being the very first requisite of an enlightened self-knowledge, which lies at the threshold of all enquiry as to the destiny of the human race. And what occasion can there be more befitting for this purpose than the anniversary of the death of the great man whose life was the concentrated essence of much that is beautiful and durable in thought and action, and whose death only added another to the large number of powerful forces which are propelling the unwieldy car of humanity on the highway of progress towards a better ideal of existence. An occasion like this also affords us the best opportunity of passing in review and of properly scrutinizing our capacities for an intelligent advance to an elevated state of development, and of shaping our individual and national activities in conformity with a high standard of moral excellence which we are apt to lose sight of in the hurry and bustle of modern life. One unfortunate consequence of the spread of shallow knowledge in India is that a large section of what we call the educated classes is suffering from an intellectual conceit which makes it speak contemptuously of things and persons outside the pale of the latest system of thought, and which greatly helps towards the formation of a thick crust of commonplace ideas around us which most of us are powerless to break through in order to reach higher ideals of our duty and destiny as members of the human race. Whatever may be the case with other communities in this country, we Muhammadans are at the present moment living on the whole in a state of intellectual and moral

chaos ; and therefore, viewed as a people charged with the fulfilment of a great mission, in the success of which humanity is profoundly interested, we stand in need of solemnly invoking the great spirit of the Past and attentively listening to the voices from the mother earth which will convey to us sublime lessons of purity, of piety, of whole-hearted earnestness, of virtuous persistency, of self-surrender to the cause of man.

The educated sense of civilized races now abhors the idea of ancestor-worship which in diverse grotesque forms our forefathers used to indulge in, but the remarkable fact remains that in our best moments of seeming independence we still greatly depend upon our departed ancestors, and derive wonderful inspiration from them in all the most serious concerns of our lives. The forms of worship have changed, but we cannot wholly escape, in spite of all our efforts to the contrary, from the necessity of idolizing the heroic spirits of past ages, and it is indeed our good fortune that we cannot so escape. After a man is dead, we are enjoined by an indulgent social usage sanctified by religious precept to speak of the virtuous side of his nature, and as a certain amount of reverence must always go along with this reference to the dead, we come to regard the more noteworthy of them as the fittest objects of our adoration and as far beyond the application of the accepted canons of a fastidious morality that regulate all mundane existence. From this habitual contemplation of the virtues of our departed great, there springs a most wholesome desire, more or less strong according to the prevailing temperament of the age, on the part of the progressive classes of each people or race to emulate the good example of those that have gone before them, so that they also may reach the high watermark of intellectual and moral eminence attained by their heroic progenitors. The result is that, under favourable conditions, they not unfrequently reach that mark and sometimes leave it, when they depart in their own turn, even at a higher level than it was ever before ; and thus the flood level of the tidal waves of human progress goes on rising from age to age until in

the fulness of time, let us trust, they will obliterate all vestiges of ignorance, superstition, and barbarism, and perhaps make this world of ours a veritable Garden of Eden—the home of peace, of comfort, of knowledge, and of love.

The admiration bordering upon reverence which the average mind feels for the dead is a most valuable part of the emotional side of man, and we in this age must value it none the less because in times of ignorance it is apt to degenerate into a debasing superstition. The materialistic tendencies of modern progress make men inclined even in the spiritual East to pay greater regard to the tangible needs of our present existence than to the shadowy requirements of a possible future state ; and there is thus but little fear of our relapsing into the mystical beliefs of ancient times. On the other hand unless we strenuously stem the turbid tide of self-sufficiency and self-admiration which flows out of the shallow knowledge imparted in our schools and colleges, there is a very well-founded danger of our burying with the dead their great ideas and golden deeds, and of our disdaining to model our lives in accordance with high ideals, consecrated by the united voice of old-age experience and wisdom. A sincere admiration for the virtues of the dead and a complete forgetfulness of their failings are therefore qualities which we all must try to cultivate ; for by acquiring these simple qualities we shall lay for ourselves the foundation upon which to build a more refined conception of social morality and a higher form of life. The desire to imitate what we admire is deep-rooted in the human breast, the record of the world's progress furnishes numerous examples of young men of every age and clime being educated and moulded into heroes by reverently contemplating classic models of private and public virtue, and by endeavouring to rise in the various walks of life to the level of those who embodied for them all forms of goodness and greatness in this world.

The celebration of this Anniversary would be, to my mind, a worse than useless formality if we who are assembled in this place did not feel the deep solemnity of the

occasion, and did not rise to its moral height by approaching the object of our fond remembrance in a frame of mind such as I have indicated above. On an occasion like this, we may with becoming grace fully and freely own the heavy obligation under which the great man laid us all when he was living and working with us and amongst us, but a far better, and certainly a more acceptable, way of expressing our gratitude to him and of appreciating his good work is to lay ourselves consciously open to his influence and to let his remembered ideas and actions become interwoven into the texture of our intellectual nature and moral sense, so that our whole being may grow upon the basis of right thinking, holy actions, and moral rectitude. In this way, perchance, some few amongst us may become like him, both during life and after death, the fountain-heads from which there may flow in subtle currents all forms of goodness and virtue to fertilize the realms of our national existence.

We must not only admire Sir Syed Ahmad Khan for his great qualities—his deep earnestness, moral courage, untiring energy, firmness of purpose, originality of conception, keen practical intellect, and strong common-sense—we must not only admire him for these, but we must also each of us resolve in all conscience to cultivate these qualities as assiduously as he did and to interweave them into our individual natures, so as to make them enter into and strengthen the very texture of our national character. We must also remember that if we admire Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, we do so, not because of his high social position or of his services to and influence with the state, nor because of the great honours bestowed upon him by the Government but because he improved our ideas upon most subjects by bringing them into line with modern culture. We admire him because he started vigorous currents of fresh thought amongst the Indian Musalmans, who had long been suffering from the worst kind of intellectual stagnation, and skilfully directed the tide of Muhammadan energy into more useful channels. We greatly admire the man for his many social virtues, for his large-hearted humanity, and for the spotlessness of his

private character; but our admiration is still greater for the religious reformer, the keen educationalist, the shrewd political thinker, and the great leader of men; for it is as such that his community and his country and his age knew Syed Ahmad Khan, and it is as a public man that he must be judged by his co-religionists and by the final verdict of history. And surely our admiration for this great man is perfectly meaningless, and we all stand guilty before the civilized world of unpardonable intellectual hypocrisy, if we do not carry on the work of social and religious reform which he initiated: the educational policy of which he laid down the broad principles; the inculcation of political sentiments insisted upon by him with such force; and above all, the important though difficult task of organizing Muhammadan public opinion and leading the community stage by stage to the ultimate goal, so that it may live, not by sufferance but as a powerful, self-reliant, and enlightened section of the Indian people.

I have said that Syed Ahmad Khan claims our admiration as a religious reformer, and I know that in saying so I am treading upon delicate ground. I allude to this part of Syed Ahmad Khan's great work advisedly, as I sincerely believe that in no sphere of action does the heroic side of this remarkable man's nature come out more prominently than in the domain of religious reform, and that in dethroning the numerous petty gods of conventional Islam he has done the greatest service to the simple creed enunciated by the Prophet of Arabia, and has most effectively extended the realms of an enlightened religious belief founded upon human reason and immutable divine law. As a religious reformer Syed Ahmad Khan stands pre-eminent in Muhammadan India, and I doubt if ever before in this country or in any other country in modern times a bolder attempt has been made by a Musalman to take down ecclesiastical authority from its high pedestal and to examine its extravagant claims to the obedience of individual conscience in the fierce light of reason. In a Muhammadan country a thick stratum of religious beliefs forms the subsoil which

supplies nourishment to all kinds of ideas and institutions visible above the surface of society, and the sanction of religion as expounded by the priestly classes is always invoked as an ultimate court of appeal in the smallest details of life. The result is that with us religion forms the theological citadel within the four walls of which there flourishes a teeming population of corrupt practices, fantastic superstitions, false social usages, perverted views of morality, and vicious theories on multitudinous subjects long since exploded, which only a Muhammadan is capable of holding and vehemently defending at this day. The man who would, therefore, reform Muslim society must perforce begin by reforming the so-called Islam of the Muslim theologian ; and who will be surprised to hear that in his anxiety to readjust the former on a sound basis, Syed Ahmad Khan was constrained to cross swords with the latter, unmindful of the thundering fulminations of high-turbaned priests, and of the fanatic's ready hell ? I remember to this day the furious storm of pious indignation that years ago burst from all sides over the head of the detestable heretic who had the audacity to call into question the sacred authority of the wise and learned theologians of past ages—those demi-gods of Islam,—and to promulgate unheard-of theories about religion and perverse interpretations of the word of God. A terrific, dark wave of fanaticism passed over the Eastern half of the Muslim world from Calcutta to the sacred city of Mecca itself, powerful enough, it was thought, to sweep away the man and his hateful opinions and to clean the kingdom of Islam once more of impure heresies that shock the conscience of the true believer. Any other Muhammadan would have sunk under the weight of such organized opposition, never perhaps to rise again ; but Syed Ahmad Khan was made of the metal of a true reformer. The spectacle of a solitary Syed in old age revolving in his mind the consequences of the intellectual and moral wreck of the Indian Musalmans as well as of their political decadence, patiently tracing the causes of disintegration and chaos observable in ideas and institutions throughout the Muslim world,

planning the destruction of received opinions based upon false notions of religion and morality, being all the time pelted with continuous showers of the epithets of *zandeek*, *mulhid*, and *kafir*, and receiving with a complacent smile deadly denunciations of himself and his writings,—such a spectacle is truly without a parallel in any Muslim country in recent times, and must command the profound admiration of all lovers of truth. The amount of moral courage and the strength of conscientious resolve which Syed Ahmad Khan brought to bear upon his crusade against sanctified error, clothed in the guise of popular Islam, will scarcely be realized by the generation that will follow us, as only those that are its spectators can appreciate the desperate force of the struggle of inherited feeling and prejudice against a departure from congenital faith. Once the departure is made, those who subsequently share in its results come to regard it in the light of a natural transition from one state of development to another; and hence it is that frequently the work of those that bore the brunt of the battle and brought about a revolution of ideas is misjudged by posterity by measuring it with the sliding scale of revolution. The present generation of Musalmans, however, whom I am addressing, have no reason to forget so soon the nature and magnitude of the initial conflict between the old and new order of things in which Syed Ahmad Khan played an heroic part; and surely those can have no true insight into the deeper aspects of that conflict who think either that it was the evanescent expression of a superficial clashing of ideas or that the great battle has been fought and won. I need only say in this place that this conflict is a real and substantial one, and has to be carried on and emphasised by the intellectual leaders of the community in furtherance of the sacred cause of truth and enlightenment. They are grievously mistaken who think that the grown-up man can go about and feel perfectly comfortable in the swaddling clothes of infancy; or that the rusty coins of mediaeval Muslim theology will circulate as legal tender in the improved intellectual currency of modern times. Those again are oblivious of their great

responsibilities and have no idea of the undying vitality of erroneous beliefs that pass for religion, who implicitly trust to the gradual spread of correct notions among the masses upon subjects that govern the routine of life, and think that with the rapid decline of priestly influence which is visible on all sides, dogmatic theology, which they try to believe is after all a harmless survival of early ages, will soon be a relic of the past. This frame of mind is the bane of all enlightened progress, and it was the hollowness of this philosophy of inaction that Syed Ahmad Khan endeavoured in his life-time to expose. The truth is that in spite of what Syed Ahmad Khan did to pull down the imposing fabric of theological error, dogma still sits amongst us on the seat of authority as the supreme Commander of the Faithful—God's own shadow upon earth—and rules over us with a rod that brooks no disobedience. The king and the beggar, the priest and the layman, are alike within the enchanted circle, and woe to him who dares overstep the fatal boundary. Every minute detail of life is governed by a formula ; for every act of piety there is a prescribed ceremony ; every feeling that springs in the human breast must be clothed in a set, symbolic expression. In the most important of human concerns you must speak, if at all, through your mouth-piece, the Mulla ; he must read for you your prayers and in a language which even he cannot understand ; he must explain to you the hidden meaning of the word of God which you must implicitly accept though opposed to all reason and wholly incongruous with the divine scheme of the visible universe. You must do just as the early Musalmans did in Arabia and adopt their modes of life and thought, treating the intervening span of thirteen centuries of progress as a blank. In all matters pertaining to personal cleanliness, sanitation, personal comfort or taste, down to the smallest details of eating, drinking, sleeping, and dressing, you must strictly follow the prescribed regulations contained in the writings of early traditionists who are supposed to have ascertained once for all and beyond the possibility of any error in their investigations what the Prophet wished his followers to do.

And since the later generations are constitutionally deficient in the knowledge of, and the means of knowing, the Divine law, the latitude that was allowed in the early days of Islam cannot now be exercised. The right of private judgment has been revoked; concordance is disallowed; and new facts and conditions of life, if such are possible, must continue to be governed for all time to come, in the absence of definite rulings, by the *obiter dicta*, however indefinite or obviously erroneous, to be found in the writings of early theologians. In short, the entire volume of Muslim beliefs covering, as it does, the whole range of our existence in this world, has been reduced to a rigid system of cast-iron formulas which the authorities tell us must be accepted or rejected as a whole, as according to them there is no middle term between the theologically prescribed belief and a total denial of Islam. Is this the system of faith of which we are proud and which we are going to transmit with feelings of satisfaction and an easy conscience to generations yet unborn? Was this the Islam which was given to a distracted and backward world by the Arabian Prophet, which supplied a beautifully simple and progressive code of morals to Semitic races, and which fired the Saracens with ideas that ultimately led to the elevation of a large section of mankind? If that Islam is now undiscoverable in Muhammadan countries, and specially in India; if the simple, elastic creed of the early Muslims has grown needlessly complex and been crystallized into a lifeless ritual; if under the influence of time and race it has been overloaded with excrescences which mar its pristine purity, then your duty is clear and the line of action you have to adopt has been clearly laid down by Syed Ahmed Khan. You must make Islam once more a living faith and a motive force that will create in you an irresistible onward impulse; you must observe, and persuade others to observe, the spirit underlying the letter of the law; you must grasp and act up to the truth which the form was meant to inculcate, treating the form as a device adopted to impress the low intelligence of the multitude. You must distinguish between the theological and the ethical side of

Islam, between its symbolic and spiritual ordinances, insisting upon a faithful observance of the latter, and throwing away the former to those that can only feed upon marrowless bones. For one obvious result of mixing up the two is that the entire system, composed of inspiring truths and degrading errors, must stand or fall; if it stands it will mean a perpetuation of falsehood which is a transgression of the Divine law; and if it falls, as it must when it comes into conflict with invincible scientific truth, it will mean the destruction of much that is good with much that is misleading. Surely this dilemma you must avoid, and you can do so only by separating the gold from the dross, and by standing forth every one of you as the dauntless champion of truth and the uncompromising foe to all error. Supercilious error in the guise of dogma, however gorgeously clad or high-placed, you must drag down and trample underfoot, even at the risk of offending the susceptibilities of your friends or relations; for the work of genuine reform is always a most disagreeable work, and the reformer seldom has the good fortune of treading upon ground sprinkled with rose-water.

That symbolism has been carried too far in modern Islam is a melancholy fact which stares an observer of Muslim society everywhere in the face; and who will deny that it constitutes a serious danger to the further enlightened progress of our religion? The spiritual lesson intended to be derived from ceremonial observances is always pushed well into the background, and the form is worshipped obtrusively with a gusto and a show of piety at which the very angels of the theologian in the seventh heaven must shudder.

Only a week ago the whole Muslim world observed the festival of Eid-uz-zuha, and each faithful follower of Islam must have believed in his heart of hearts that by substituting "animal" for "self" he had made the prescribed animal-sacrifice serve the purpose of self-sacrifice, and that by doing so he has earned high religious merit in the sight of a merciful God. He must have touched with a feeling of deep satisfaction the knife that spilt the life blood of a goat

or a sheep or a camel ; but if you ask him to show kindness to a poor neighbour, or sympathy with a fallen brother, or to curb his unruly desires and let the generous impulses of his nature have free-play in common human relations, he will tell you to keep your high moral precepts to yourself. This is what we have come to in the way of observing our great religious festivals ; and this is how after slaughtering millions upon millions of animals on the Eid day, we pious Musalmans wade triumphantly through streams of blood to our paradise. How long will this farce of a formality continue to be solemnly enacted year after year in the Muslim world ; and how long will the Musalmans in their daily lives spurn the lessons which the symbolic sacrifice of the Semitic Patriarch was meant to inculcate as to the highest form of virtue acceptable to God ? Surely, it is time that such a senseless parody of religion should cease ; and that instead of frittering away our energies and resources in keeping up a fantastic procession of purely ceremonial institutions we should properly study and enter into their spirit and work ourselves up to the highest pitch of moral excellence. This is a goal to attain which all of you must press forward, and the nearer you approach it, the greater will be your chance of refining and elevating the true religious instincts of humanity and of winning the eternal grace of God.

In your endeavours to reach this lofty ideal you will be encouraged by the noble and heroic example of the great man whose Anniversary we are celebrating to-day ; for each of you may go and do likewise in his own individual sphere, and may thus stamp the impress of his character upon Muslim society. The task is a difficult but not an impossible one ; and if Syed Ahmad Khan was able to accomplish single-handed an amazing revolution in the ideas of the Indian Musalmans, surely you, my young friends, can band together to carry the torch of knowledge into some of the dark corners of the social and religious edifice which past generations have handed down to us, so that you in your turn may leave a comparatively enlightened and advanced system for the guidance of a grateful posterity. The stimulus of a

high example is a great motive power, if only you will avail yourselves of it; and I know of no people or race in any part of the civilized world for which such a stimulus is more urgently needed than for the Musalmans of this ancient country. Remember that Islam is an exotic system of a faith which your forefathers after a profoundly earnest labour of centuries planted on this soil; and it behoves you and the generations that follow to continue to labour still harder to foster its healthy growth, lest in consequence of your neglect and under the influence of an uncongenial environment it may wither away and disappear from this land. Remember also that under the altered conditions of modern progress, no faith can live and flourish unless it is wedded to the highest truth and virtue, and unless in all departments of human activity it places the increasingly complex human relations on the stable foundations of a refined morality. We the Muhammadans of India have the rare good fortune of living under a system of administration which is as near an approach to organized justice, equity, and good conscience as the political sagacity of modern Europe can safely devise; and under this system our potentialities of progress are unbounded if only we should wake up and catch something of the spirit of the age. We are also fortunate in living side by side with a race distinguished for the vastness and the depth of its ancient learning, remarkable for the wonderful vitality of its ideas and institutions, and unsurpassed in its amazing capacity to adapt itself to new conditions of life and thought and to keep abreast of progressive times. Can we not learn a few lessons from this historic and resourceful people, and profit by their great example?

May the indestructible bond of common interests bind together the Christian rulers and the Hindu and Muhammadan fellow-subjects in this land; and may the triple alliance of Christianity, Hinduism and Islam in India be the blessed confluence of three great perennial springs of refined religious thought that may for ever feed and purify the boundless ocean of a progressive humanity!

13

SYED AHMAD KHAN AS A RELIGIOUS REFORMER*

TO-day we are celebrating the fifth anniversary of the death of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Let us reflect for a moment what this celebration imports. Are we gathered together simply to mourn the death of one who was regarded as the leader of the Indian Musalmans ; who was considered by the Government as the prominent Indian of his time ; and who, with longer life, would have been instrumental in many ways in accelerating the progress of his community and country ? Are we assembled here to further lament the loss of one whose place it will be difficult to fill for a long time to come ? Do we mean by holding this meeting to add one more tribute of respect to the memory of a man whose name will long shine in the pages of the history of our age ? To answer these questions in the affirmative would be to misconstrue the real meaning of this gathering. No, we are not here to give expression to a barren sentiment which leaves no trace behind in the shape of improved ideas or realised actions. We have come together to study certain phases of a life full of many a high ideal ; and to remind ourselves that by translating those ideals in action we can, in the words of the poet, "make our lives sublime."

A great man is dead after having lived a life of varied activity and noble aims,—a life which has left a profound impression upon the minds of his countrymen and upon the age in which his lot was cast. He was great, not because he was the scion of an ancient family of great

* A lecture delivered in the Town Hall, Lahore, on the 30th March, 1903.

social traditions, or because he served the Government of his time with marked zeal and fidelity, and was the recipient of high titular distinctions, but because in the mature years of a long life he strove right manfully, with a rare precision and steadfastness of aim, to move humanity a step forward on the path of advancement. The man who works for the elevation of his family to a higher level of existence certainly contributes towards the greatness of his nation ; but the man who endeavours, with more far-reaching directness, to promote the well-being of his nation is a benefactor of mankind. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan belonged to the latter category. He was not one of those whose sympathies are determined or stimulated by personal considerations and whose good work is confined within the narrow circle of their own kith and kin. Nor yet did he belong to that class of men who extend their mental scope until it embraces the whole human race, and whose colossal schemes for virtue, intended to bear fruit in all countries and in all ages, are proclaimed from mountain-tops to a suffering humanity. He was born in a Muslim family in India and he made the welfare of the Indian Musalmans, whom he found to be sunk into the lowest depths of degradation, the chief aim of his life. He was not the less great because he devoted his great natural gifts and extraordinary energies to the service of one small section of mankind ; and he is not the less entitled to the respect and admiration of our non-Muslim countrymen because he mainly strove to uplift his own co-religionists in this country. He might, perhaps, have been deemed greater and worthy of more profound reverence if he had not allowed his mind to be concentrated upon the destiny of the Indian Musalmans alone. But we Musalmans would at the present day have been the poorer, the weaker, the less self-reliant, and undoubtedly the more helpless for lack of such concentration. The well-being of the Indian Musalmans is, I venture to think, a large integral figure in the sum-total of the moral and material progress of India ; and they take a strangely one-sided and contracted view of things who believe that the body politic can be fully

developed without special attention being given to the proper functional exercise and strengthening of each member. If the various communities that inhabit this ancient land were to give birth to men like Syed Ahmad Khan, each burning with an ardent desire to better the condition of his co-religionists, India would not cut the sorry figure that she does to-day in the civilized world, and she would soon see the dawn of a happier era.

In studying, therefore, the life and work of this great man, with special reference to our own needs, we Musalmans are not pandering to a spirit of sectarianism or wishful of promoting an exclusive cult. We are only seeking to derive healthy inspiration from an example, pregnant with mighty influences, which the rising generations of our co-religionists might follow with incalculable benefit to themselves and their mother-country.

In my address delivered at the last anniversary of the death of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan I adverted briefly to his work as a religious reformer. As I was then taking but a cursory survey of his life-work, with the intention of deducing therefrom certain lessons to be impressed with special emphasis upon the minds of the present generation of Musalmans, I had to content myself with stating in general terms my sense of the importance of the religious reform initiated by the great Syed, and with pointing out to my young friends the line of future action to be adopted by them in this matter. The subject, however, is of more than ordinary interest and significance, and for more reasons than one possesses special fascination for me. I feel that the needs of the age and the altered conditions of progress in this country imperatively demand the introduction of certain reforms in conventional Islam, which, by reason of the superstitious beliefs and absurd dogmas that it embodies and inculcates, is but a travesty of the simple, vigorous and rational Islam of the great Arabian Reformer. I also feel that our young men and the Musalman students of our schools and colleges should have impressed upon their minds at an early stage of their intellectual development the

supreme value of true religious ideals, so that they may go out into the world fully equipped with ethical notions of a high order and with catholic minds well attuned to the highest conceptions of human duty. To attain these ends, I know of no better means than to study closely, intelligently, and dispassionately the genesis and growth of widespread movements in the domain of religious and social ethics which have swayed large classes of mankind, and to learn how to appreciate the motives and actions of those great men who have conceived, set on foot, and guided those movements. I am happy to observe that there are not wanting among us young men who are inclined to take a rational view of Islam, and who fully sympathise with all earnest efforts to purge it of the absurdities introduced into it by Muslim theologians and by converts of all shades of opinion and belief in all ages and countries. With the latter, conversion to Islam meant, in most cases, the adoption of a crude form of monotheism and a belief in the future state, supplemented by a hard and fast set of ritualistic regulations which had little influence upon their social institutions and less on the many superstitions they had inherited from their non-Muslim ancestors. Ingenious Muslim theologians have also been busy through the thirteen centuries that have elapsed since the promulgation of Islam in Arabia, in weaving endless cobwebs of all sorts of possible and impossible beliefs in which whole nations have become so entangled that at first sight it seems almost a hopeless task to extricate Muslim society from their soft meshes. With the advance, however, of Western education in this country and owing to the silent operation of other forces, there is discernible among Musalmans, as among all other Indian communities, a growing tendency towards rationalism in matters religious which manifests itself in diverse forms, and which, in some of its aspects, has occasionally been misconstrued into a callous indifference to religion, and as such vehemently condemned. I regard this tendency as a most hopeful sign of the times, and I rejoice to see it working in various ways a wholesome change in Muslim society. The religious ideal

in education has already undergone a most welcome modification in recent years amongst us, so much so that those who were regarded, not long ago, as the deadliest foes to Western education are at the present moment sincerely anxious to be counted as its friends. The Nadwat-ul-Ulama is an instance in point. This change of attitude is the direct result (however artfully some may conceal it) of that incipient rationalistic trend of thought which has been forced upon us by modern conditions of existence and which is full of great promises for the future. In speaking of this intellectual tendency I do not lose sight of the fact that there is observable in certain quarters in our own province a decided reaction in religious thought, which has been ushered into the world of polemics with a great flourish of trumpets, and which appears to disregard alike the accepted principles of an enlightened religion and the spiritual ordering of a progressive society. This reaction appears to me to be but a passing phase of religious enthusiasm, which, I am prepared to admit, is not without its uses, but which, under other conditions of social existence, would have given rise to persecution and stifled independence of judgment. The current of cultured thought has already begun to flow in the direction I have indicated, and the transitory reaction I have just noticed need not disturb our forecast of the probable religion of the future. The forces that have determined the direction of this current have been complex and multifarious, but the most powerful and the most abiding of these was the movement of reform which is associated with the honoured name of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan ; and it is in the fitness of things that on the present occasion we should recall to our minds this great man's work as a religious reformer, and resolve to conscientiously do our own duty in carrying that work to completion.

The early religious training of Syed Ahmad Khan was not characterised by any remarkable features. It was of the kind which used to be adopted in pre-Mutiny days in all middle class Muhammadan families in Delhi ; and involved but a superficial acquaintance with the rudiments of Islam

and the concomitant ritual. The family influences, too, under which he was brought up do not appear to have been such as to have either particularly inclined him in favour of dogmatic theology, or fostered in him independence of thought and a spirit of rebellion against the prevailing religious beliefs. His maternal grandfather, Dabir-ul-Daula Farid-ud-Din Ahmad Khan, a man of remarkable talents and high character, was more distinguished for literary attainments and an intellectual bent of mind than for any marked religious temperament. His mother's gentle influence, to which Syed Ahmad Khan owed so much in life, was exerted upon him more in the direction of promoting his moral culture than in creating around him a religious atmosphere such as prevailed in the early years of the last century in most orthodox Muhammadan families in Northern India. His father, Mir Muttaqi, was a broad-minded gentleman given much to promoting the amenities of court life and did not fetter his conscience by the adamantine chains of a rigid Muslim orthodoxy. On the other hand, we do not discover any traces of heretical beliefs, growing out of a defiant heterodoxy, in Mir Muttaqi's family ; and it is certain that if any such beliefs lurked in the minds of the father and the grandfather, these in no way influenced the future reformer's course of thought in the domain of religion. Indeed, in one respect Mir Muttaqi and Khwaja Farid had conceived a strange partiality for a practice which to this day is the failing of orthodox Musalmans ; and it is worthy of note that it even fascinated and fired the young imagination of Syed Ahmad Khan himself. I allude to the time-honoured practice of spiritual discipleship *(Piri-Muridi)*, which counted among its votaries the majority of the Musalmans in the times we are speaking of, and which still thrives to an astonishing extent among seemingly sensible Muhammadans. Mir Muttaqi was a favourite disciple of Hazrat Shah Ghulam Ali, whose *Khanqah* is well known in Delhi. Syed Ahmad Khan was also admitted in his younger days into the esoteric circle of this far-famed anchorite ; and in his writings he adverts occasionally with a peculiarly

affectionate remembrance to Shah Ghulam Ali and his spiritual influence ; Khwaja Farid became a disciple of Mukka Shah, the head of the Rasul Shahi sect of those days, and two years before his death went to the length of shaving off his beard, moustache, and eye-brows like the great majority of the Rasul Shahi mendicants. This system of spiritual discipleship does not, however, appear as a system, to have made any abiding favourable impression upon Syed Ahmad Khan's mind, as we find that, comparatively early in life (1849 A.C.), he wrote a pamphlet entitled *Kalimat-ul-Haq* (كلمة الحق) against the system ; and in his mature years never showed the slightest inclination to view it with approbation.

The early training of Syed Ahmad Khan was, as I have said, of the ordinary type. He read the text of the Quran with an *Ustani ;* and after having received the usual instruction in elementary Persian books, began to read Arabic. His whole Arabic course comprised *Sharh-i-Mulla, Sharh-i-Tehzib, Maibazi, Mukhtasar Ma'ani* and *Mutavval*—and even with these books his acquaintance was but superficial. After this he did not pursue the study of Arabic until about the age of forty. When he was posted to Delhi as Munsif he thought of improving his knowledge of the Arabic language and literature and of studying theology. In Muhammadan Law he read *Qaduri* and *Sharh-i-Vaqaya ;* in the Principles of the Muhammadan Law, *Shashi* and *Nurul-anwar ;* and in the Science of Traditions such books as *Mishkat, Jamaa Tirmizi*, and fragments of *Sahih Muslim*. In Arabic literature he read with Moulvi Fath-ul-Hussan some books of *Maqamat-i Hariri* and a few poems of *Sabaa-i-Muaallqa*. This was the slender foundation upon which, by dint of self-education assisted by the most methodical use of mental powers of a very high order, Syed Ahmad Khan built in after-life the magnificent superstructure of his critical knowledge of the literature and theology of Islam. He was in no sense of the term a great Arabic scholar, nor was he, judged even by the Indian standard, well versed in the subtleties of theological literature. But the fact remains that in his power of

grasping the fundamental principles of our Islamic system of faith, and in his keen insight into such of its features as have made it a great motive power in the world, he has been scarcely excelled by the most learned Muslim theologians of modern times. Nor will it be seriously denied that in his capacity for critical research and for diligently studying and assimilating the sound religious views and opinions of the great Muslim thinkers of the past, and in the amplitude of his intellectual powers which he brought to bear with amazing success upon the application of those views to the needs of the present day, he stood without an equal in modern India.

Syed Ahmad Khan's writings on religious subjects may be roughly divided into three groups, which correspond, broadly speaking, to three epochs in the progressive development of his religious views. The first group comprises about half a dozen pamphlets all written before 1857,* in which

* These pamphlets are:

(1) *Jila-ul-qulub, Bizikr-il-Mahabub* (جلاء القلوب بذکر المحبوب) (1268 A.H.) This pamphlet contains a biographical sketch of the Prophet and an account of his miracles based upon authentic traditions. It was an improvement upon many previous pamphlets written on the basis of all kinds of miscellaneous traditions, but it shares with them the weakness of making free use of the supernatural in religion.

(2) *Tuhfah-i-Hassan* (تحفۂ حسن) (1260 A.H.) This is a translation of the 10th and 12th chapters of the *Tuhfah-i-Asna Aoshriah* (تحفہ اثنا عشریہ) a book well known among the Sunnis at the time as a reply to the doctrine and practice of the Shia sect. This is the only pamphlet written by Syed Ahmad Khan on the controversial aspect of the great schism between the two rival political parties in Islam.

(3) *Kalimat-ul-Haq* (کلمۃ الحق) (1849 A.C.) This was a spirited protest against the prevailing system of spiritual discipleship which has been referred to above.

(4) *Rah-i-Sunnat dar radd-i-Bidaat* (راہ سنت در رد بدعت) (1850 A. C.) This was written against the Wahabi movement and in favour of the Sunni doctrine.

(5) *Namiqa dar bayan-i-Musala-i-Tasavvur-i-Sheikh* (نمیقہ در بیان مسئلۂ تصور شیخ) (1852 A.C.) This was a brochure on the esoteric aspect of spiritual contemplation.

he hazards immature opinions on sundry topics of the day in which Muslim society appears then to have been interested. These pamphlets do not evidence any marked originality of thought, capacity for critical research, or pronounced departure from received opinions. They could have been written by a third-rate Moulvi of those days; and the subjects treated of, and the manner in which they are discussed, do not at all foreshadow the independent and penetrating views of Syed Ahmad Khan of the *Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq* days.

To the second group belong the writings between 1857 and 1869, of which the most noteworthy are the *Tabyni-ul-Kalam* (تبین الکلام) (Commentaries on the Christian scriptures), and the *Risala-i-Taam-i-Ahl-i-Kitab* (رسالہ طعام اہل کتاب). These two books disclose maturer views upon some questions which bear materially on the religious and social relation between Christians and Musalmans, and are in many respects a decided advance upon the fragmentary writings before 1857. They indicate a most momentous turn which the events of 1857 had given Syed Ahmad Khan's thoughts, and mark a significant departure from the prevailing standards at acceptable opinion. One can clearly see therein the old order of things giving place to the new, and the hitherto undisputed sway of the hall-marked canons of theological ratiocination being openly challenged and effectually undermined. The Muhammadan civil servant of a Christian Government who has hitherto regarded religious question from the ordinary point of view of a Muhammadan, and has not cared to look beyond the Muslim theologian's limited field of vision, all of a sudden leaves the beaten track and seeks "fresh fields and pastures new" in the realms of religious enquiry, which embraces both Islam and Christianity. The immediate predisposing cause of this investigation was the decline and fall of Islam as a political power in India and the concomitant estrangement between the Christian rulers and their Musalman subjects; but the enquirer is led by degrees into regions of belief all but unexplored in recent times in

Muslim countries, and suggests some of the most sound and fascinating methods of carrying on further investigation. The way is paved for a religious *rapprochement* and a social alliance between the Christians and Musalmans, and to the latter many a wholesome lesson is read strongly condemning their un-Muslim hatred of "the people of the book", and pointing out the erroneousness of many of their cherished beliefs. At this stage of his career Syed Ahmad Khan enters upon a new phase of religious thought. He digs deep into the foundations of belief with the passionate zeal of a modern archaeologist; and ponders over religious problems until the love of an impartial religious enquiry imperceptibly merges into a ruling passion for rectifying the religious ideals of the Indian Musalmans. It is here that we leave the religious student behind, and come in sight of the future religious reformer.

The third group of Syed Ahmad Khan's religious writings comprises those works (written between 1869, the year of his departure for England, and 1898, the year of his death) which embody his most mature opinions on religion, and upon which is based his title to be regarded as the greatest Muslim thinker and reformer of modern times in this country. To this group belong the *Khutubat-i-Ahmadia* (خطبات احمدیه) the *Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq* (تہذیب الاخلاق) and the *Tafsir-ul-Quran* (تفسیر القرآن) of which I shall speak presently at some length. The circumstances which led Syed Ahmad to study Christianity as a religious system are interesting and instructive. Long before the Mutiny of 1857, Christian missionaries were exerting themselves most energetically in the work of propagating Christianity in northern India; and along with the establishment of educational institutions in important towns, intended to be used as a means to this end, the preaching of Christian doctrines to Indian audiences was carried on with great vigour. This work naturally brought the missionaries into conflict with Musalmans. The latter having comparatively recently wielded political power in the land and been deprived of it by a Christian nation, and being

more tenacious and less tractable in their religious beliefs than their mild and pliable neighbours the Hindus, were very strong in their aversion to Christianity. The result was that the missionaries and the moulvis resorted to street preaching as a means of attacking, often in bad taste, the religion of the opposite party, and polemical pamphlets on religious topics were written and published on each side. Syed Ahmad Khan also caught the spirit of the hour, and in his anxiety to defend Islam from missionary attacks, wrote a series of apologetics, which, however, do not appear to have been published.

After the Mutiny Syed Ahmad Khan's religious ideas and his attitude towards Christianity underwent a great change, brought about principally by a thoughtful consideration of the political relations between the Christian rulers and their Musalman subjects ; and the momentous problems bearing upon the future enlightenment and material prosperity of the Indian Musalmans as a community began to assume more distinct and larger proportions in his mind. A deeper study of the Quran and of the Bible as well as of the controversial literature produced on both sides, convinced him that the followers of the Cross and of the Crescent had serious misconceptions not only about the leading doctrines of the religion of their opponents but also, which was more lamentable, about the essential principles of their own ; and that the historical relation of the one system of faith to the other and the need for their mutual co-operation and hearty comradeship in the work of effecting the moral regeneration of mankind were woefully misunderstood and persistently ignored. Under the influence of ideas such as these, Syed Ahmad Khan made up his mind to collect materials for writing an exhaustive commentary on the Bible. In April 1858 he was posted to Moradabad in the capacity of Sadr-us-Sadur (صدر الصدور)and it was during several years of active service both at Moradabad and Ghazipur (where he was transferred in 1862) that he read, marked, and digested all kinds of books treating of Christianity, such as important commentaries on the Old and New Testaments, histories of

the propagation of this religion, accounts of the rise and growth of its numerous sects, especially of the latest phase of the Unitarian movement in Europe and America, and treatises written by the modern school of scientific critics against the Christian scriptures and Christianity. He also collected authorities from important theological works based upon authentic Islamic traditions (احادیث) and the opinions of well-known commentators on the Quran upon points material to his undertaking, and used them in a most skilful manner in support of his main thesis. The result of these labours was the *Tabyin-ul-Kalam* or the commentary on the Bible,—a work of great merit, the first of its kind written by a Musalman author, which, though incomplete, discloses a depth of erudition, a love of critical research, a capacity for sound reasoning and impartial weighing of conflicting opinions, and withal a sympathetic and enlightened view of religious thought, which would do credit to any European scholar, and which a Muhammadan critic of the Christian scriptures will find it most difficult to equal. Syed Ahmad Khan's chief object in writing this commentary was not so much to produce a critical exegesis of the Gospels and to attack the opinions of Christian divines, as to bring out points on which genuine Islam and pure Christianity agree, to establish an enlightened concordance between the two, and to show that both these faiths are two harmonious phases of the religious ideal, and as such can and ought to influence the human mind in the same direction. The *Tabyin-ul-Kalam* consists of ten introductory discourses some of which are rather lengthy, two supplementary chapters, and a commentary on the Old Testament up to the eleventh chapter of the Book of Genesis, and on the New Testament up to the fifth chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew. The preliminary parts of the book contain most valuable information both for Muhammadans and Christians, and lay the foundation for the removal of that lamentable religious antagonism between them which has existed for centuries and which has sprung in the main out of religious fanaticism, political rivalries, one-sided views of moral and social virtue,

and profound ignorance of each other's fundamental beliefs and ruling ideals in faith. In this book Syed Ahmad Khan has given very sound reasons for differing both from Muhammadan moulvis and Christian divines in regard to many doctrines of Islam and Christianity on which the exponents of the two religions have felt and written most strongly, and appears to have succeeded in clearing up some of the knotty points on which there had existed a hopeless conflict of opinion. For example, the charge of verbal interpolation of the scriptures preferred by Musalmans against the Christians is boldly faced and refuted both on the authority of Muslim writers, such as Imam Fakhr-ud-Din Razi (امام فخرالدین رازی) and Imam Ismail Bukhari (امام اسمعیل بخاری) and on the basis of modern criticism and research. Similarly the dispute as to the doctrine of (نسخ) or revocation of one Divine commandment by another is shown to be a war of words due to a misconception of the spirit of the law.

The *Tabyin-ul-Kalam* was issued in parts, each page being divided into two columns. In one column the text of the Old Testament was published in the original Hebrew as well as in English and Urdu ; and in the second column a corresponding verse of the Quran or a tradition of the Prophet with its translation into English and Urdu was given. Then followed the commentary. As the views adopted and advocated in the *Tabyin-ul-Kalam* were, as I have said before, in many respects divergent from received opinions both among the Muhammadans and the Christians, it met with vehement opposition from all quarters ; and as the proper execution of the original plan of the book was very expensive, it could not then proceed beyond the stage I have already mentioned ; and Syed Ahmad Khan was obliged by reason of later pursuits to give up the idea of completing it at a future time. The incomplete *Tabyin-ul-Kalam*, however, marks an epoch in the progress of Syed Ahmad Khan's religious opinions towards an ideal hitherto unrealised in Muhammadan India ; and here and there reveals lines of thought far above the level of prevalent religious concep-

tions, upon which the author's future movement of reform among his co-religionists was to proceed.

Shortly after the publication of the *Tabyin-ul-Kalam* appeared *The Life of Muhammad* (in four volumes) by Sir W. Muir, the Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W.P. This book was the outcome of many years of laborious study, anxious thought, and literary and historical research ; and as it was written by a high Anglo-Indian official of acknowledged ability, with marked Christian proclivities, it naturally attracted a great deal of attention both in England and India. The talented and ingenious author's criticism of the Prophet's personal character and the claims of the Quran as a revealed book, of the traditions as authoritative expositions of the divine law, of Muslim worship and ritual, of Islam as a code of moral regulations, and of other innumerable matters of doctrine and practice commonly comprised under the comprehensive phrase of Muhammadan religion, was trenchant and, to the average mind, unanswerably sound. The missionaries read the new production with avidity and high hopes ; and soon felt thoroughly convinced that at last the fortress of Islam in India had been stormed, and that at no distant date the young Musalmans who were being educated in public schools and colleges in Western modes of thought must unconditionally surrender to the exponents of the Christian religion. Syed Ahmad Khan studied the book carefully ; appreciated the force of the attacks made therein upon Muhammad and his system of faith ; saw, as none else could see, the danger of Sir W. Muir's canons of criticism and line of thought exerting their warping influence upon the uninformed Muhammadan mind ; marked the weak links in the chain of arguments employed ; and determined forthwith to write a book by way of reply. But the materials which had to be collected for the purpose were not available in this country ; and he accordingly took advantage of his son's (Syed Mahmud's) departure from India in 1869 and left with him for England. In England he worked exceptionally hard, spending long, laborious days and sleepless nights in preparing an elaborate reply to Sir W. Muir's *Life*.

The result of his labours was the publication in London in 1870 of the *Khutubat-i-Ahmadia* (خطبات احمدیہ), which as a critical survey of the life and teachings of Muhammad from a Muslim point of view and as an exposition of the rationalistic side of the Islamic system, will long be regarded as a work of exceptional merit and profound learning, and a priceless contribution to the religious literature of the world. As a defence of Muhammad and Islam it thoroughly fulfilled the object it was primarily intended to serve and completely silenced many a loud critic. As an exposition of the developed teachings of the Prophet and of his enlightened contemporaries and successors, it strongly appealed to the intellect and the conscience of thoughtful Musalmans and laid the foundation of latter-day Islamic rationalism. The Christian writer of missionary proclivities and the Musalman moulvi of primitive theories and meaningless beliefs saw much in this book that was most disagreeable and savoured of rank heresy; on the other hand, the cultured Musalman, who regarded all true religions as a lever by which mankind can be lifted from debasing superstitions to rational beliefs and the highest social virtue, could trace in it ample evidence of a desire to exorcise the demon of fanaticism, to approach religious questions in a spirit of impartial enquiry and to examine Islamic doctrines in the light of historical truth and human reason. The *Khutubat* (خطبات) was truly an epoch-making book; and it will be long before the materials out of which it was written are improved upon in Muhammadan countries. All sound critics agree in regarding it as a work of permanent value, and all those who are sincerely anxious to know true Islam may safely refer to it as a trustworthy guide to the religious history of pre-Islamic Arabia and the early history of Islam, and as containing a critical survey of some of the leading Islamic doctrines and of the principles laid down by eminent Muslim writers for testing the authenticity of the traditions which among the Sunnis take rank next after the Holy Quran.

Syed Ahmad Khan returned from England in October

1870, and soon after started a weekly periodical called the *Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq* (تہذیب الاخلاق)—The Moral and Social Reformer. With this periodical may be said to have begun Syed Ahmad Khan's active propaganda as a religious reformer. The bitter opposition which its appearance evoked among the Indian Musalmans and the wonderful revolution which, despite that opposition, it gradually worked in their ideas, are matters of recent history. No less than ten journals were started in different parts of India, and most liberally supported by contributions, with the sole object of nipping the daring heretic's new venture in the bud, and of drowning the lisping voice of heterodoxy in a furious uproar of unanimous condemnation. Innumerable *Fatwas* were eagerly sought from, and easily pronounced by, moulvis of all shades of opinion in all centres of Muslim orthodoxy, from Calcutta to the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina ; and the bitter imprecations that were being daily and hourly heaped upon the Syed's head were truly appalling. Two gentlemen of position and influence in the N.-W.P., one of them a Sub-Judge and the other a Deputy Collector, made themselves conspicuous by their determined and violent opposition to Syed Ahmad Khan's reform movement. The latter, a Wahabi, made a tour of India and procured *Fatwas* from no less than sixty moulvis, muftis, and qazis pronouncing Syed Ahmad Khan the most hateful of Kafirs ; while the former, a Shia, was so enterprising as to undertake a pilgrimage to Mecca with the object of proclaiming to the assembled pilgrims from all Muslim countries the existence of a *Dajjal* in India, to whom his proper place in the other world must soon be assigned. The leading exponents of the "four creeds" at the Holy cities were delighted at the golden opportunity of "serving the interests of true Islam," and solemnly set their seals to three sonorous documents, in which Syed Ahmad Khan's religious views were condemned in a violent language, the school established by him at Aligarh for imparting Western education to Muhammadan youth was denounced as the devil's own seminary, and sanction was given in express terms for visiting his irreligious

opinions with the penalty of death. "These fulminations of high-turbaned priests and the fanatic's ready hell" (to repeat what I have said elsewhere), however, did not in the least disturb the mental equilibrium of Syed Ahmad Khan. He was convinced, on the contrary, more than ever of the depths of ignorance and moral degradation into which the leaders of Muhammadan thought had sunk and resolved to redouble his efforts in the domain of religious reform. The air was full of rumours of designs upon his life, but the intrepid reformer considered it moral cowardice of the worst type to deviate one jot from the right path he had chosen to tread. For six long years the *Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq* continued to pour a deadly rain of modern shot and shell into the apparently impregnable citadel of conventional Islam, which was held and obstinately defended by an army of fanatics, equipped with the matchlocks and blunderbusses and rusty swords of a superstitious and irrational belief. The methods of warfare had, however, entirely changed; and the antique and uncouth weapons employed by the Indian moulvis were no match for those drawn fresh from the well-stocked armoury of Western thought and genuine Eastern culture. The battle having been fought fiercely and long, was followed by an apparent truce; but those who had carefully watched the conflict in all its phases know full well how and in whose favour the great issue has been decided.

During the first six years of its existence (1870-1876) the *Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq* served the cause of religious and social reform among Muhammadans with a plain speaking and a persistency which command the respectful admiration of all lovers of truth. Although Syed Ahmad Khan was assisted by valuable contributions from such powerful writers as Moulvi Syed Mahdi Ali (now Nawab Muhsin-ul-Mulk), Moulvi Charagh Ali, Moulvi Mushtaq Husain (now Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk), Mr. Syed Mahmud, Moulvi Hali, and Moulvi Zakaullah, yet by far the largest number of the essays that appeared in the *Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq* were written by himself, and it was he who bore, with a smiling patience

all his own, the brunt of the battle that raged round the standard of heterodoxy which he had raised. Moulvis Mehdi Ali and Charagh Ali used to write almost exclusively on religious subjects; whereas Syed Ahmad Khan's essays comprised moral, social, and semi-political as well as religious topics, and covered the entire range of belief and practice that influence individual and national life among Indian Musalmans. Of the 226 essays that altogether appeared in the *Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq* during this period of six years, no less than 112 proceeded from the pen of Syed Ahmad Khan. These treated of all descriptions of subjects; e.g., (among social and moral subjects) custom and traditions, prejudice, freedom of opinion, training of children, slavery, savage virtue, morals, hypocrisy, self-help, disputation, civilization; and (among religious subjects) the relation between religion and the world, the story of Adam, freedom and necessity, Mehdi-ism, magic and sorcery, the traditions, his belief in God-worship, religious education, on the *Suras* of the genii (جن) and the elephant (فيل), the heavens (سموات) the use of myths and traditions in commentaries on the Quran, etc., etc. Many of these essays were written with the avowed object of exploding the many preposterous theories on which Muhammadan belief and practice were founded; and considering the burning earnestness of the writer and the existing times in which they appeared, the studied moderation of language and the close reasoning which characterised them, are worthy of the highest praise.

In 1876 Syed Ahmad Khan retired from Government service and settled at Aligarh where he had already founded a school which was to be gradually developed into a Muhammadan college. His great educational scheme, of which the Aligarh school was but a feeble expression, now absorbed Syed Ahmad Khan's energies; and as his dream of a Muhammadan awakening, which he had wished to bring about with the aid of the *Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq*, had by this time been partially realised, he stopped the periodical from the first of Ramazan 1293 A.H., and took leave of his readers in a most pathetic valedictory article. After an

interval of three years the *Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq* was revived to satisfy a persistent and growing demand for its reappearance. It continued to serve the national interests for two years and five months more and was again stopped for want of funds. It was started for the third time in 1894 and, after a precarious existence of three years, had again to be stopped in 1897.

I have now to speak of what I consider to be Syed Ahmad Khan's greatest and most difficult work in the department of religious reform, and which, though at present unrecognised, will undoubtedly be prized by an enlightened, posterity as a most valuable contribution to the intellectual heritage of the Muhammadan section of the human race. I allude to Syed Ahmad Khan's *Tafsir-ul-Quran* (تفسیر القرآن) the commentary on the Holy Quran. The reasons which led to this commentary being undertaken were briefly these. Soon after the Mutiny Syed Ahmad Khan had wisely recognised the urgent need for imparting sound education on Western lines to the younger generation of the Indian Musalmans. But knowing, as he did, the Muhammadan character, the Muslim love of religion, and the many socio-political circumstances that had tended to instil into the minds of his co-religionists a strong aversion to English education, he at the same time saw that the system of secular instruction in vogue in public schools and colleges in this country was not wholly suited to the requirements of the Muhammadans. He, therefore, thought it essential to the intellectual, moral, and material progress of his co-religionists to devise a system of education which would combine religious with secular instruction; and under which might be achieved the best results of the highest education in Western arts and sciences without undermining a sincere respect for, and adherence to, the ancestral faith. Another object with which Syed Ahmad Khan paid a visit to England in 1869 was to study the educational system of the English Universities with a view to introducing it *mutatis mutandis* into India in the shape of a well organized Muhammadan college. He came back from England in 1870; and as he

knew that the seeds which he wished to sow would fall, under the conditions then existing, on stony ground, the first thing he turned his hand to was to prepare the soil. We have seen what he accomplished in this direction with the aid of the *Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq*. In 1876 he saw that the Muhammadan mind was somewhat ready for the reception of the ideas he wished to instil into it ; the *Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq* was stopped, and he devoted himself heart and soul to carry into effect his great educational ideal. But at the same time a question of far greater import presented itself to his mind : what would be the effect of high Western education and a knowledge of modern science, which foster habits of independent thought, on the religious beliefs of Musalman students ? Would they not be tempted to examine the intellectual foundations of these beliefs ; and when they found, each according to his own light, that most of these beliefs did not stand the test of reason and were accepted only on authority, would they not look upon Islam with contempt and perhaps renounce it in disgust ? There could be only one answer to these questions ; and Syed Ahmad Khan realised the nature and magnitude of the national calamity to which this result would lead.

At least Syed Ahmad Khan determined to solve the difficulty which to his contemporaries seemed insoluble. High education on the most approved Western lines must be given to the Muhammadan youth, and their religious beliefs, at least such of them as Syed Ahmad Khan was convinced were founded upon true Islam, must be safeguarded. This end could only be achieved by proving that genuine Islam was a thoroughly rational system of faith ; that it was completely in accord with the Divine will as disclosed in the laws of nature, and with human reason ; and that the Holy Quran, as the Word of God, rightly interpreted, was not and could not be incongruous with the work of God, the underlying principles of which alone were being carefully studied and classified by modern science. Syed Ahmad Khan set himself the difficult task of proving all this by writing an exhaustive commentary on the Quran,

which he commenced about the year 1876, and at which he worked assiduously, whenever he could spare time from his more pressing engagements, till almost the close of his strenuous life. He was unable to complete the commentary, which, as it stands, covers about three-fifth of the Quran. It consists of seven volumes, six of which were published in Syed Ahmad Khan's life-time. The seventh unpublished volume finishes with the chapter on the Prophets (سورہ انبیاء) The danger which Syed Ahmad Khan set himself to avert by writing this commentary has been realised, not only in the East, where the ferment of new thoughts, almost subversive of religion, is a recent phenomenon, but also in the West where physical science may be said to have entered on a death struggle with religion. But very few of the learned in Europe who support the cause of religion, and certainly none in the East, have faced the danger, so far as it affected Musalmans, with such high-souled courage and provided against it so effectually as Syed Ahmad Khan has done.

This is not the place or the time to mention in any detail the salient features of the *Tafsir-ul-Quran*. I must refer such of my hearers as are anxious to know something of this wonderful book to the recently published Biography of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan written in such fascinating style by that accomplished writer Moulvi Altaf Husain Hali. I need only say in this place that the *Tafsir* is the crowning glory of Syed Ahmad Khan's intellectual efforts ; that it discloses in every page the magic touch of the master's hand : that it throws a new light on many of the obscure verses and apparently incomprehensible passages of the Quran ; and that it presents to a cultured Muhammadan mind a coherent and rational body of Islamic doctrines which by an unaided study of the text one finds it difficult to grasp. The principles of the old *Ilm-ul-Kalam* (علم الکلام) which was devised to deaden the shock of the Greek philosophy in the times of the Abbasi Caliphs had grown out-of-date, and Syed Ahmad Khan makes use of more modern weapons to combat a more formidable enemy. The maxims of historical investigation having changed he gives up the adventitious aid of doubtful traditions, and

sets small value upon the opinions of *Mufassirs* and *Mujtahids* of ancient schools of thought. He interprets the Quran in the light of his own developed reason with special reference to the needs of modern times, and brings his acute powers of criticism and expository acumen to bear upon passages and doctrines which seemed to him to require full explanation. He lays down in clear terms certain canons of sound interpretation of the Quran, and by adhering to them in his commentary shows what marvellous results may be gained by the judicious use of independent judgment and a little common sense in discovering the meaning of inspired utterances. There are certain matters of belief and practice treated of in the Quran which, owing to the rapid march of intellectual progress in the world, have acquired a peculiar significance, and the Muhammadan mind has, under the expansive influence of general culture, begun to be exercised over them. These matters naturally claimed Syed Ahmad Khan's close attention, and he had devoted a large space in his *Tafsir* to a full consideration of the question arising out of them. Social institutions such as marriage, polygamy and divorce ; quasi-political institutions such as religious war (جہاد) and slavery ; the practical duties of faith, such as prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, and almsgiving ; questions relating to a future life, such as the existence and nature of the soul, rewards and punishments, paradise and hell ; mere matters of belief such as prophetic inspiration, miracles, the vision of the ascension (معراج), ancient cosmogany and many Jewish, Sabaean, and Christian traditions alluded to in the Quran,—these are some of the momentous questions dealt with at great length in the *Tafsir* in a manner which indicates in every page that the author was possessed of vast resources, a keen vigorous intellect, a well-balanced judgment, a highly developed analytical faculty, and a deep sense of responsibility in interpreting the Word of God. He suggests new meanings, in consonance with modern thought, of expressions and verses which either admit of more than one construction or, as he contends, have been entirely misunderstood. He treats many descriptive passages

in the Holy Book which seem to appeal to the sensuous instincts of man as mere allegorical allusions to spiritual truths which the average intelligence is incapable of grasping in the abstract. He defends Islam from the charge so often preferred against it by non-Muslim writers, of pandering to the grosser passions of mankind ; shows that its code of morals recognises the weakness of, and is intended to improve and elevate, human nature ; and proves the utter baselessness of many of the imputations brought against the Prophet and his followers. Syed Ahmad Khan sincerely believed, as he frequently stated in his writings and most emphatically declared on more than one public occasion, in the literal inspiration of the Quran ; and this belief he could only justify by shewing that nothing in the Quran was in any way repugnant to, or inconsistent with, the divine laws that govern the universe in the widest acceptation of the term. In endeavouring to establish this position, he has differed most widely from previous commentators both in the principles of interpretation he has adopted and in his conception of the spiritual import of Divine utterances. But whether he be right or wrong as against Muhammadan theologians in all the views he so strongly maintains in his *Tafsir*, and whether he has or has not succeeded in placing Islam beyond the reach of attacks by progressive science, this much is certain, that the services which he has rendered in the domain of religion to the present and future generations of Musalmans are most valuable, and that posterity will one day learn to regard him as the greatest religious reformer of modern times in the Muslim world.

I have said enough to show that the great Syed was as a reformer a most remarkable specimen of progressive humanity. But if we admire him for his great qualities of head and heart, should we not endeavour in all earnestness to acquire these qualities ourselves and to work manfully along the path which he has so nobly trodden? If the need for reform was sorely felt in his time, has it wholly ceased to exist to-day? I wish I could say it has. My own view is that the necessity for religious reform among Indian Musalmans

is as paramount as ever ; and signs are not entirely wanting that the more thoughtful amongst us are lamenting the woeful Muhammadan situation in India created partly by the prevalence in our society of the most preposterous beliefs and practices which form no part of Islam. Our talented friend Mr. Yusaf Ali has only recently brought to the fore certain questions connected with some of our religious observances in his most valuable paper read before the Muhammadan Educational Conference at Delhi, and I am glad to notice that the public discussion which Mr. Yusaf Ali invited on his paper has been full and free in the columns of *The Observer*. I have followed this discussion with deep interest and have been greatly profited by the suggestive views of some gentlemen, notably those of my friend Mr. D. H. Ahmad of Calcutta. What has specially struck me in this discussion is the effect which the liberalising influences of modern education have had upon the Muslim mind. Even the casual observer can discern in it the beginnings of a wholesome intellectual emancipation, and the signs of a mental revolt, in the near future, against formal observances which cramp our moral energies and greatly retard our progress towards the national regeneration. I know, as every student of history does, that formalism is the dominant feature of primitive society ; that even in ages of progress it is in some measure the necessary accompaniment of social and religious institutions. But surely to expect willing adherence to formalism at all stages of mental advancement is to offer a gross insult to the educated conscience. Surely we cannot go on bowing to the lifeless gods of a crude intelligence till the end of time ; nor can progressive reason look on with equanimity and unconcern while moral and religious truths of the most ennobling character are being crushed year after year under the iron heel of ceremonial observances. These have had their day, and human reason will at no distant date break away from them and take sides with inspiring spiritual verity. The time will soon come when new conditions of life, brought into existence by an advanced civilization, will force new questions on the Muslim

mind. Indeed, some of these are already agitating our society. Is it incumbent upon all Musalmans to say their prayers in the Arabic language? Should it not be allowed to read the Quran in the language which the reader understands, apart from the Arabic text? May not the sacrificial rites associated with the *Id-uz-zuha*, which are now merely commemorative, be replaced by observances which may be better calculated, in ages that will follow, to inculcate the practical lessons of self-abnegation? Is the seclusion of women, as practised in Muhammadan countries, enjoined by Islam, and is it compatible with the highest social, moral, and intellectual progress of the human race? These are some of the questions which are being discussed more freely than before by cultured Musalmans, and which, I am convinced, will acquire even greater importance and demand clear and definite answers, at least in India, towards the end of the present century. Syed Ahmad Khan also felt the force of these questions, but, busy as he was with what he thought to be weightier problems, he answered a few of these half-heartedly in a way which cannot satisfy the younger generation. Syed Ahmad Khan could not, indeed no thinker can, lay down the precise lines of thought for all time to come; and in your quest after religious and moral progress you will have to go farther than he did, and seek for yourselves new methods of advance. I rejoice to observe among our cultured classes a marked tendency towards freeing Islam from the shackles of a dogmatic theology and an earnest desire to espouse the cause of rationalism in religion. If this tendency and this desire receive timely encouragement, Islam will become a living and an operative faith. The ethical teachings of the Prophet will receive greater attention, and less stress will be laid in private and from the pulpit on ceremonial observances, such as lip-prayers in an unintelligible language, sacrificial rites on the 'Id day, keeping the fast by starving the body from sunrise till sunset, and reciting the Arabic Quran without in the least understanding its meaning. It is ceremonialism slavishly subservient to the dead past and heartlessly

indifferent to the living present which is in a great measure responsible for the extinction of the true religious spirit amongst us, and which makes some people believe that Islam is incompatible with true progress. Mark and ponder over the following words of M. Renan which were written twenty years ago, and if you really love Islam, as I have no doubt you do, then find out the means of practically refuting the serious charge brought against it by the French philosopher:

"To emancipate the Musalman," says M. Renan, "from his religion would be the greatest service that one could render him. I believe that the regeneration of the Muhammadan countries will not be the work of Islam; it will come to pass through its enfeeblement."

These words will undoubtedly offend the religious susceptibilities of many in this Hall, but the only way to refute the charge therein preferred is to restore Islam to its former purity and elasticity, to purge it of the elements of theological error which have disfigured its spiritual truths, and to carry out its salutary ethical regulations in everyday life. Then Islam will be, as it once was, the greatest friend of all true progress, and then those who obey its commands will be in the vanguard of advancing humanity.

Before I conclude I must take this opportunity of cautioning you against two dangers which you must take note of. Do not listen to the siren songs of those who on the pretext of bringing about a much-desired religious revival in this materialistic age, are only strengthening the spirit of sectarianism in Islam, and are laying the foundation of lamentable reaction against rationalistic views of religion; nor, again, should you be led astray by the most amiable party of compromise, which, with a complacent smile upon

its face and professions of peace upon its lips, stands with outstretched hands between reform and prevalent beliefs, between genuine spiritual emotions and lifeless traditional formalities, with the seemingly laudable object of effecting a reconciliation between the two. This party, you will find, consists mostly of the representatives of moral cowardice and religious hypocrisy, who are not strong and sincere enough to espouse the cause of progress, but who are anxious to be counted as allies among either of the contending camps as occasion suits them. True reform is, and must always be, uncompromising, as was the reform initiated by the great Arabian Reformer ; and it is vain to expect it to enter into an unworthy alliance.

The present condition of Indian Musalmans and the many pressing needs of the day have compelled me to make up for my discourse this evening a subject which it is perhaps impossible to handle before a Muhammadan audience without giving rise to a certain bitterness of feeling, an open distrust, and vehement disagreement. My excuse, however, for thus risking the displeasure of some of my hearers is to be found in my earnest conviction that so long as theological Islam, with its puzzling complexities and meaningless dogmas retains its hold over the Muslim mind, so long will it be impossible for Muslim nations to achieve success in all the departments of human progress and for Islam to take its proper share in the redemption of a suffering and sinful humanity. I have ventured to remind you of the inspiring work in the sphere of reform accomplished by a great man under tremendous difficulties, whose mantle has fallen upon your shoulders, and whose voice from the grave loudly calls upon you all to carry on and hand down to succeeding generations with better prospects of success the work that he so nobly initiated. His spirit is with us in this Hall, and

his voice is ever audible, in accents of rare sweetness and fervour, to those who only will listen, in the deafening noise of the day and in the deep stillness of the night. Come, my brethren in Islam, let us cheerfully and manfully respond to this noble call, which, though human, partakes of the nature of a sacred summons from on high ; and let us devote ourselves heart and soul to the supremely felicitous task of purging Islam of all obnoxious elements of error, of restoring it to its pristine purity, of promoting through its spiritual agency the great mission of the Arabian Prophet for the success of which millions upon millions of earnest and devout Musalmans have in all countries and in all ages laid down their lives.

14

SYED AHMAD KHAN AS A POLITICAL LEADER*

WE have assembled here this evening to celebrate the anniversary of the death of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Last year I dwelt at some length upon the necessity and the real meaning of such celebrations. I said then, as I say now, that the proper object in celebrating the anniversary of the death of a great man is not to mourn his loss in sorrowful language or to pay a fresh tribute of respect to his revered memory every year. It cannot be in any way conducive to genuine progress that we should on such occasions content ourselves with appealing to a barren sentiment of regret at the death of one who was the pole-star of our hopes and whose loss has left a gap which time will not find it easy to fill. Surely such lip-worship of an heroic life is worse than useless, and is unworthy of thoughtful men. Happily, the times when whole communities used to indulge in the grossest forms of ancestor-worship are gone, and we live in an age when we have learned to respect our distinguished dead not because they were our progenitors but because they have left us a heritage of noble ideas and nobler deeds which have added to the priceless possessions of the human race.

Hence, the value of an anniversary, such as the one we are now celebrating, lies chiefly in its reminding us each year of the high ideals of a great man in the various departments of human activity and of the many suggestive steps by which he realised those ideals in action. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was a man of such ideals. He lived a strenuous life, a life of great aims, high resolves, and splendid achievements, a life

* An address delivered on the anniversary of the death of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, March 1904.

which can teach profound lessons to the present generation and to generations yet unborn. This great man's life-work presents itself to us under many aspects, each of which when properly studied will yield fruitful results. Last year I took occasion to speak at length of his work as a religious reformer. I endeavoured then to show that the work of reform initiated by him was of supreme importance, that it was still unfinished and stood in need of vigorous workers, and that in the true interests of intellectual and moral progress it must be carried on in all earnestness by those who are sincerely anxious to contribute to Muhammadan advancement. On the present occasion I propose to address you on a subject which, though from my own point of view of less importance, will, perhaps, be to some among my audience, for more reasons than one, of greater interest. I propose to speak of Syed Ahmad Khan's work as a political leader.

Descended from ancestors who had held position of trust and responsibility in the Court of the Muhammadan Emperors of Delhi and born at a time when the Mughal Phoenix was singing itself to a tragic death, never again to rise into life from its ashes, Syed Ahmad Khan was one day to witness and participate in a tremendous revolution destined to bring in its train consequences of the deepest import. The circumstances surrounding his childhood were such as always leave an indelible impress upon the political history of a country. The Muhammadan Empire in India, which had shone for the space of several centuries with a dazzling splendour, was in its last flickers and about to pass into a joyless gloom ; the Marhatta confederacy, which after heroic struggles had succeeded in playing itself on the ruins of the Mughal dominion, fell to pieces before the resistless advance of a powerful foe from the far West, and India soon found herself prostrate before her new rulers.

The establishment of British dominion in this country brought with it new methods of government to which the East was a perfect stranger, and a profound change imperceptibly passed over this ancient land and its historic

people. New ideas and strange ideals of action came into existence. Society was gradually casting off its old standards of thought and conduct and was readjusting itself unconsciously to its new environment. In the political sphere the change was as marked as it was rapid. The Muhammadans whose domination over the country had preceded the British rule, not only lost their political power but soon forfeited whatever moral weight and social influence they had possessed among the Indian races, with the result that their downward movement rapidly landed them in political complications and social difficulties of a most serious character. Syed Ahmad Khan was a silent spectator of this momentous revolution, but must have been forced now and then by altered circumstances to revolve in his mind its probable consequences. That he had inwardly marked the significance of this great change and had at least dimly realised its bearing on the future of India, is obvious from a step which he took early in life, and the importance of which is apt to be overlooked at this distance of time. Although family traditions and early associations bound him to the Mughal court, he made up his mind, as soon as he could think for himself, to dissociate himself from the Mughal cause and to throw in his lot with the new rulers of India. Accordingly we find him entering British service, much against the wish of his relations and friends in 1837, when he was only twenty years of age, and at a time when a young man of average intelligence could scarcely be expected to break away so deliberately from the old order of things and to identify himself with the new. For twenty years he served his British masters with a whole-hearted devotion to duty which every civil servant of the English Crown might well copy. Then came with a startling suddenness an event which will ever stand out black and bold as a great landmark in the political history of this country. The episode of the Mutiny of 1857 is matter of recent history, and we need not linger here over its unhappy causes or its gruesome details. Suffice it to say that Syed Ahmad Khan played in this drama an heroic part which will live long in the memory of men. He

bore the heat and burden of the day with a silent fortitude, a courageous determination, a contempt of consequences, and sincere loyalty to his masters, which make Syed Ahmad Khan's character look nobler in our eyes at this day. But while he was performing manfully his part of the work of suppressing the mutiny, he was not slow to perceive the dire consequences to his own co-religionists of this lamentable political commotion, and his mental anguish grew more and more acute as he saw that he was powerless to avert them. When the storm-clouds of the mutiny rolled away, and the country assumed its tranquil aspect once more, he looked around and witnessed the heart-rending spectacle of the Muhammadan nobility and gentry, which before 1857 possessed at least a semblance of power in the land, suffering the inevitable consequences partly of their own folly and partly of that profound distrust of Muslim loyalty which contemporary events had engendered in the British mind. With the aristocracy thus shattered and reduced to a position of comparative helplessness, with no middle class, and with ignorance and superstition pervading the land, the Muhammadans of India were destined, it seemed, to sink into the lowest depths of intellectual and moral degradation and to occupy the status of serfs and bondsmen in this country. Syed Ahmad Khan thought long and seriously over the situation and his spirit rose to the occasion. The more he reflected over the new problem that presented itself to his mind for solution, the more thoroughly was he convinced of the exceptionally virulent nature of the terrible canker that was eating into the very vitals of the Musalman community in India, and he saw that the speedy application of a drastic remedy was a paramount necessity. The destruction of Islam as a political power in the land being an accomplished fact, the Musalmans must be taught in their own interests to accept it cheerfully and loyally, and to reconcile themselves once for all to a position of political subjection and to being treated by their rulers on a footing of equality with other subject races. They must be taught to modify traditional modes of thought and action, to readjust old standards

of civic conduct, to accommodate themselves to altered conditions of life, and to co-operate loyally with the governing classes in promoting their own prosperity and the moral and material progress of India. Syed Ahmad Khan looked round for men able and willing to join hands with him in the great work that he proposed to initiate and accomplish, but none such could be found. Muslim decadence, it seemed to him, had reached its lowest point, and the possibility of Muslim regeneration was but an empty dream. A feeling of despondency overpowered him, he quailed before the magnitude of the task, and in a moment of despair he seriously thought of bidding farewell to his native land and spending the rest of his life in a quiet retreat in Egypt. This feeling of hopelessness, however, soon passed away ; he reproved himself for his moral pusillanimity ; and, recovering his spirits, resolved like a man to do or die. From this moment Syed Ahmad Khan entered upon a new phase of his remarkable career. Hitherto he had worked mainly as a civil servant of the British Crown ; henceforth he was to add to his onerous duties the great responsibility of carefully scrutinizing the British system of government with a view to finding out its merits and defects ; of acting as an interpreter between the rulers and the ruled in order to remove causes of mutual distrust and misunderstanding ; of bringing about a political union between Englishmen and Indians such as would conduce to the best interests of both. And as he was chiefly led to a conception of this responsibility on being struck by the universal demoralisation of his co-religionists in India, which after the Mutiny threatened to culminate in their extinction as a factor of progress under British rule, the sense of that responsibility naturally dawned upon him mainly in relation to the Muhammadan section of the Indian people. At this stage the public servant merged in the public man. He carefully studied the nature and the aim, the strong and the weak points of the political organization that had been imported from the progressive West into the backward East ; measured, as best he could, the strength and direction of the forces that were at work under the surface of Indian

society ; formulated the broad conditions under which alone healthy civic life, as he conceived it, could develop in this country ; and resolved to lay his views in writing before the British authorities. The result was a political pamphlet entitled the *Causes of the Indian Revolt*, printed in 1858, which discloses a grasp of the situation, a depth of political insight, a penetration and independence of judgment, and a capacity for tracing popular disaffection and discontent to its real causes, which startled many a politician both in England and in this country, and incensed those whose view it did not suit.

According to this pamphlet the mutiny, which had almost shaken British rule in India to its very foundations, and over the causes of which the British mind was then being so much exercised, was the simple effect of a simple cause. It was the result, not of any deep-laid conspiracy on the part of the Indian people to shake off the foriegn yoke, but of profound misunderstanding and of a deep distrust between the British governors and the subject races consequent upon racial animosities, religious differences, and a mutual incapacity to appreciate the needs, the motives and the feelings of one another. These causes again were naturally due, it was urged, to a new political organization nurtured in a Western land having been planted on an Eastern soil and being watered exclusively by Western hands.

As remedial measures, it was suggested, among other things, that representative Indians should be given seats on the Legislative Councils of the country ; that higher posts in the public service should be thrown open to the sons of the soil ; that the latter should be treated with courtesy and consideration as was the case in the earlier years of British rule ; that there should be a freer social intercourse between Englishmen and Indians, so that they might be able to know, appreciate, and respect the manners, customs, motives, and feelings of one another ; that the Government and its officials should strictly adhere to a policy of religious neutrality and stand perfectly aloof from missionary propaganda in this country.

The *Causes of the Indian Revolt* appeared at a very opportune time, and served not only to allay race-hatred and a passion for revenge among Englishmen, which the excesses of the mutineers had fanned into a flame, but also to induce British statesmen to bring their system of administration into line with the real needs, the wishes, and the legitimate aspirations of Britain's subjects in the East. In this book Syed Ahmad Khan anticipates many a political thinker of the Congress school, and as it was undoubtedly the precursor of a generous recognition, in a variety of ways, by the rulers of the claim of the sons of the soil to a share in the government of the country, it deserves to be remembered as marking an advanced stage in the political progress of India.

I must pause here for a moment to notice one point in connection with this book which throws considerable light on the standpoint from which Syed Ahmad Khan had early in life learned to look at political questions, and which bears materially upon the attitude he adopted towards a certain set of political aspirations which thirty years later came into prominence in this country. He was fully convinced that the mutiny was not attributable to causes to which the British rulers had ascribed it, but that it was the result of certain defects of administration and a misconception of genuine native feeling on certain points ; and he, therefore, thought it his duty to write the book in question, which contains a bold indictment of the British administrative system in India. But to have published the book in this country would have been to arraign the rulers before the ruled, to set popular passion and prejudice aflame, to develop a feeling of vague discontent into that of definite disaffection, to appeal to the warped and untried judgment of the masses, and as a result to defeat the very object with which the book was written. He disliked and dreaded popular agitation of any sort or kind. Syed Ahmad Khan, therefore, did not publish the book here ; but despatched 498 out of the 500 printed copies of it to England for the perusal of Members of Parliament and of other Englishmen interested in the affairs of this country. The book gave rise to considerable

discussion and not a little diversity of opinion in official circles in England and India, but, except some of Syed Ahmad Khan's personal friends, no Indian knew anything at all of its contents. Thus did this remarkable man advocate with his usual fervour of conviction the cause of India and the Indians before the bar of English official opinion without setting on foot that wide-spread political agitation in this country which later on the National Congress did so much to foster, but which Syed Ahmad Khan vigorously and consistently condemned till the closing years of his life. We shall see presently why the Indian Musalmans have chosen to follow Syed Ahmad Khan rather than the leaders of the Congress in this matter.

After the publication in England of the *Causes of the Indian Revolt*, Syed Ahmad Khan took several practical steps to neutralise the effects of the mutiny by establishing a better understanding between the British Government and its Muhammadan subjects. He started in 1860 a quarterly journal called *The Loyal Muhammadans of India*, in which on the unassailable basis of well-ascertained facts he combated the notion, then unfortunately only too deep-rooted in the English mind, that the mutiny was chiefly the result of Muhammadan disaffection towards British rule, and that so long as the Indian Musalmans were a power in the land, the stability of that rule was in serious danger. This periodical, though short-lived, did great service in disabusing English officials in no small measure of this unfounded apprehension and in restoring confidence in Muslim loyalty to the British throne. Syed Ahmad Khan next turned his attention to Muhammadan education. He was convinced that the moral and intellectual degradation of Indian Musalmans, equally with their political breakdown, was due in the main to the want of modern education among them, and that until this want were supplied, they would be unable to appreciate the advantages of British rule and to co-operate with their rulers in promoting their own welfare and the prosperity of their native land. He accordingly started, in 1863, at Ghazipur, where he was serving as a Subordinate Judge at the time, a

public school called the Victoria School, and also established there an association under the designation of "The Scientific Society." His object in founding these institutions was to reconcile Muhammadans to English rule by inducing them to take to English education, and to place within their reach modern scientific knowledge through the medium of the vernacular in order to habituate them to Western ways of thought. About the same time, he was working hard and earnestly to bring about a religious *rapprochement* between Muhammadans and Christians, as he was fully aware that so long as religious antagonism, due to a variety of causes that lie concealed in the bosom of the past, subsisted between the Cross and the Crescent, so long was it hopeless to expect either that the Indian Musalmans should become loyally attached to British rule and identified with its permanence in India, or that their Christian rulers should on their part learn to regard them as loyal subjects and entitled as such to protection and patronage equally with other subject races in this country. To attain this end, he wrote a pamphlet called *Risala-i-Taam-i-Ahl-i-Kitab*, the object of which was to popularise the now well-known Islamic ordinance which allows the Muhammadans to eat and drink with the People of the Book (Jews and Christians) and thus to remove a long-standing and deep-seated prejudice which stood in the way of a free social intercourse between the English rulers and the Musalmans in this country. He also wrote a commentary on the Bible called the *Tabyin-ul-Kalam* with the object of exploding many a doctrine on which, as a matter of belief, Christians and Muhammadans were (and unfortunately are even now) at hopeless variance and which prevented, and still prevents, the complete removal of religious fanaticism on their part towards one another.

This part of Syed Ahmad Khan's work, though conceived to all appearances in a religious spirit, had a political significance which is apt to be overlooked or minimised at the present day, when most of the old religious prejudices have almost died away and when Muhammadan loyalty to the British Crown is no longer the subject of misgivings. How

far Syed Ahmad Khan's religious writings were instrumental in revolutionizing Muhammadan thought in India, I had occasion to notice in some detail at our last anniversary meeting. I need only say on this occasion that the influence which these writings exercised and continue to exercise over the Muslim mind in India in purging it of religious prejudice and superstition, and in enabling it to rectify the moral and intellectual standards and to examine the ever-varying relations of modern civic life by the light of secular reason, has been the most potent political force among Muhammadans that has operated in favour of English rule, and I have no doubt that it will be appreciated at its proper worth by British statesmen both in England and in this country.

Not long after Syed Ahmad Khan's return from England, while he was working to educate his co-religionists into a frame of mind fit for the reception of the new light from the West, there appeared in India a rather clever book under a most sensational title, I mean Mr. (afterwards Sir W.) Hunter's book, *The Indian Musalmans : Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen ?* written by a rising civilian of considerable literary power, and inspired by the so-called Wahabi revival in the Lower Provinces. This book came like a thunderbolt upon the Muslim community, and as a disagreeable surprise and a painful revelation upon many an official in England and in India. If half the statements of fact which this book contained were true, and if even some of the conclusions it drew from those statements were sound, Muhammadan loyalty to British rule was a perfect delusion and the existence of Islam in India a most serious menace to its stability. The official eye was flashing forth angry enquiries as to the truth of the alleged facts ; the Muslim heart was writhing under the severe blows which the book gave to its most cherished hopes. At such a critical juncture, Syed Ahmad Khan again took up the cudgels on behalf of his co-religionists, and in a series of articles published in the *Pioneer*, refuted categorically the arguments of Mr. Hunter with a vigour of reasoning, a precision of statement, and a moderation of language, which brought convic-

tion home to many an official sceptic, and the ominous cloud that hung for a time over Muslim loyalty soon rolled away. Thus did Syed Ahmad Khan again become the spokesman of the Indian Musalmans, advocating their cause with rare boldness and effectually shielding them from a ferocious political onslaught; and thus did he establish once again as early as 1871 his title to be regarded as their political leader.

In 1878, Syed Ahmad Khan was appointed by Lord Lytton a member of the Supreme Legislative Council, and he was reappointed a second time by Lord Ripon in 1881. On the 12th of January, 1883, in the course of a discussion on the Central Provinces Local Self-Government Bill, he made a speech in Council which is remarkable as much for the catholicity of the views which he held as regards the introduction of Local Self-Government in India, as for the soundness of the limitations, which, in the interests of an indispensable equilibrium in public bodies, he thought must be placed upon the principle of election in its practical application to the constitution of municipal boards in this country. This speech deserves to be carefully read by those who are desirous of correctly tracing the evolution of Syed Ahmad Khan's political convictions; and as the opinions embodied therein bear materially upon at least one phase of his subsequent relations to the Indian National Congress, I think it may not be amiss to give one or two extracts from it on this occasion.

"My Lord," said Syed Ahmad Khan, "I am one of those who believe that the success of local self-government will, in a great measure, depend upon the amount of independent power to be conferred upon the local boards and the district councils. Indeed, I am convinced that it may safely be laid down as a general rule, that the greater the powers conferred upon these bodies the greater will be the cordiality, earnestness, and industry with which the work will be performed by the members. Holding such views, it would be only natural for me to dissent from such provisions in the Bill as are intended to authorise interference on the part of the district authorities."

Again: "But, my Lord, far more important than any of the points I have noticed are the provisions contained in clause (c) of section 5, and the corresponding clause in section 6 of the Bill. These clauses reserve to the Government the power to appoint members of the local boards and the district councils not exceeding one-third of the whole

number. I regard this provision in the Bill with unqualified satisfaction, and, as this is the first occasion on which the subject of local self-government has come before the legislature, I cannot avoid expressing a hope that the provision to which I have alluded is an indication of the policy which Government intends to pursue in regard to legislation for other provinces also. How far the Government should control the constitution of local boards and district councils, is a matter of principle by no means peculiar to the Central Provinces. It is, indeed, a matter which goes to the very root of the entire scheme of local self-government for which the country is indebted to your Lordship's administration. To that noble scheme I am proud to give my hearty, though humble, support, for I rejoice to feel that I have lived long enough to see the inauguration of the day when India is to learn at the hands of her rulers those principles of self-government which have given birth to representative institutions in England, and have made her great among the nations of the world. My Lord, I sincerely believe that all the intelligent classes throughout India sympathise with the feelings which I have expressed, that they feel grateful to the Government for the privileges which the scheme of local self-government will confer upon them, and that the effect of those privileges will be to enhance the popularity of the British rule, and to inspire feelings of loyalty and devotion among the vast population of British India. The more real those privileges are, the more beneficial will be the results. Having such views and feelings as these, I cannot possibly have sympathy with those who deprecate the withdrawal of Government from the direct management of local funds and local affairs; and it is natural for me to wish, as a matter of principle, that the local boards and the district councils should consist, as far as possible, of persons whom the voice of the people has elected as their representatives. But, my Lord, I feel that I am not acting inconsistently with my feelings and views in cordially supporting those provisions of the Bill which reserve to Government the power of appointing one-third members of the local boards and district councils. I am convinced that no part of India has yet arrived at the stage when the system of representation can be adopted, in its fullest scope, even in regard to local affairs. The principle of self-government by means of representative institutions is, perhaps, the greatest and noblest lesson which the beneficence of England will teach India. But, in borrowing from England the system of representative institutions, it is of the greatest importance to remember those socio-political matters in which India is distinguishable from England. The present socio-political condition of India is the outcome of the history of centuries of despotism and misrule, of the dominance of race over race, of religion over religion. Traditions and feelings of the people and their present economic and political condition are in a vast measure influenced and regulated by the history of the past; the humanizing effects of the British rule have not yet demolished the remembrance of the days of strife and discord which preceded the peace brought to India by the British supremacy. India, a continent in itself, is inhabited by vast populations of different races and

different creeds; the rigour of religious institutions has kept even neighbours apart; the system of caste is still dominant and powerful. In one and the same district the population may consist of various creeds and various nationalities; and whilst one section of the population commands wealth and commerce, the other may possess learning and influence. One section may be numerically larger than the other, and the standard of enlightenment which one section of the community has reached may be far higher than that attained by the rest of the population. One community may be fully alive to the importance of securing representation on the local boards and district councils, whilst the other may be wholly indifferent to such matters. Under these circumstances, it is hardly possible to deny that the introduction of representative institutions in India will be attended with considerable difficulty and socio-political risk. In a country like England, where the differences of sectarianism in religious matters have been mitigated by the advance of toleration, the matter does not present such difficulties. The community of race and creed makes the English people one and the same nation, and the advance of education has rendered smaller differences wholly insignificant in matters connected with the welfare of the country at large. Christian constituencies do not object to return Jews to represent their interests in Parliament, and, indeed, for socio-political purposes, it may be said that the whole of the population of England forms but one community. It is obvious, of course, that same cannot be said of India. The system of representation by election means the representation of the views and interests of the majority of the population, and, in countries where the population is composed of one race and one creed, it is no doubt the best system that can be adopted. But, my Lord, in a country like India, where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious distinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all the sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests on the local boards and district councils, would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations. So long as differences of race and creed, and the distinctions of caste form an important element in the socio-political life of India, and influence her inhabitants in matters connected with the administration and welfare of the country at large, the system of election, pure and simple, cannot be safely adopted. The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community and the ignorant public would hold Government responsible for introducing measures which might make the differences of race and creed more violent than ever."

These extracts indicate very clearly the stand-point from which Syed Ahmad Khan viewed the introduction into India of political institutions of the West and leave little doubt as to the trend of his opinions long before he came into conflict

with the radical politicians of the Congress school.

No phase of Syed Ahmad Khan's public life has been subjected to greater criticism by his educated countrymen than his attitude towards the Indian National Congress. This political organization came into existence in 1885, and has for the last 20 years exercised over the cultured Indian mind an influence which has made itself felt in a variety of ways in the prevailing modes of thought in modern India. The Indian Musalmans, as a community, have from the very beginning stood aloof from the Congress, and this has been due, as is well known, chiefly to the strong dissent of Syed Ahmad Khan from the Congress propaganda. The story of his opposition to the National Congress is as instructive as it is interesting, and the reasons of that opposition are not far to seek. As I have already had occasion to say more than once, the key-note of Syed Ahmad Khan's public life was his one desire, which ever burned within his breast and consumed all his thoughts, to promote the moral and material progress of his co-religionists and to do all that lay in his power to break down the barriers that impeded their national advancement. Comparatively early in life he had carefully studied the causes which had led to their moral degradation and political decadence, and he was determined not only to remove or at least to restrict the operation of those causes but also to reconcile them to the rule of the political forces of the time,—forces which he well knew would work their national ruin if they did not shape their thoughts and actions in accordance with them. The religious beliefs, the political traditions, and most of the social institutions of Muhammadans, had created around them an atmosphere which in many respects was wholly different from the one in which the other Indian communities, and more especially the Hindus, lived and moved and had their being. The Muhammadans had been the rulers of India for several centuries immediately preceding the British period, and as always happens in a country circumstanced like India, the political revolution which followed the distintegration of the Mughal Empire affected the Muhammadans most prejudi-

cially in all their relations both with the sister communities and the ruling classes in the land. An ever-present sense of the recent loss of political power and social influence in the country, a humbled political pride, an irascible national temper, a morbid remembrance of the glories of the past, a strongly conservative temperament engendered by conditions of life characteristic of the East, a religious antagonism against Christians which, originating in the early ages of Islam, had been intensified by the Crusades and subsequent political rivalries, a lack of education resources and of moral and material strength, a nervous dread of change and a deep-rooted distrust of the new regime,—these and kindred causes, which a man of Syed Ahmad Khan's keen insight and penetrating judgment could not ignore, had, ever since the establishment of British dominion in the East, conspired to render the Muhammadans utterly unfit to play with grace and sobriety an intelligent and independent part in the sensational political drama which the Congress proposed to enact on the Indian stage. On the other hand, the British rulers of India, in whose minds the bitter memories of the mutiny were still fresh, and who could easily anticipate the consequences of an alliance between ignorance and political frenzy, would not have looked with unconcern upon political agitation spreading among the Muhammadan masses. Their distrust of Muhammadan loyalty, which lay dormant under the peaceful conditions prevailing in the country, was apt to be revived on the slightest provocation, and obviously the consequences of such a distrust would have been more serious and far-reaching as regards the Muhammadans who constituted a politically depressed and unprogressive minority than in the case of the other communities of India. The work of reconciling the Muhammadans to the inevitable results of political subordination and of establishing cordial relations between them and their new masters, which Syed Ahmad Khan had partly accomplished under the most difficult of circumstances, would soon have been neutralised, and there would have been developed among Muhammadans a spirit of active discontent

which, under conceivable conditions, might have ended in open disaffection against British rule in some parts of the country. By reason of their political antecedents, their religious traditions, their national characteristics, and their relations with their co-religionists in other parts of the world, the Indian Musalmans stood on a footing of their own, and in the politics of the country constituted a factor of some complexity and of no small importance. In education and wealth, in respect of moral and material progress, and in capacity for using the powers and discharging the responsibilities of a quickened political life, they were far behind most of the other Indian races. They had not yet learned to avail themselves of the modern facilities for intellectual advancement, to think out for themselves the pros and cons of a particular course of political conduct, and to practise the great virtues of moderation and self-restraint in public life. Within the Congress tabernacle a majority of them would probably have been the most devoted disciples of political enthusiasts who worship at the altar of an intangible and evanescent patriotism and whose teachings utterly lack inspiration of a higher order. They would have played at best but second fiddle in the councils of the assembled patriots, and at times might have been made a cat's-paw of by their astute countrymen to draw Indian chestnuts out of the fire. They would have swelled the shrill chorus of political agitation and copied on public platforms the frothy rhetoric of shallow politicians without striving to keep abreast in all arts of civilised life with the progressive leaders of the Congress movement.

It was considerations such as these that appear to me to have determined Syed Ahmad Khan's attitude towards the Congress; and looking at them from the stand-point of a Muhammadan leader, deeply anxious to raise his co-religionists in the scale of the Indian races, an observant student of Indian politics will discern in them a practical sagacity born of mature experience. Syed Ahmad Khan's dissent from the Congress propaganda has been spoken of by some of our Hindu friends, whose opinions are entitled to weight,

as the one great mistake of his life. I venture, however, to think that these well-meaning critics do not judge of his actions in relation to the Congress by the uncoloured light of attendant circumstances and have failed to understand his mission in life. They also, it seems to me, base their criticism of his political creed upon theoretical considerations which look fascinating upon paper but which lose their charm before the stern realities of life in modern India. Syed Ahmad Khan regarded the Muslim community in India as a political entity distinct from the other Indian communities, with political traditions of a distinctive type, and with a genius and destiny of its own which would ever distinguish it, as in the past, in the march of Indian progress. Its separate existence as a strong, virile, and self-reliant nationality was, according to him, as essential to the well-being of India as the evolution on healthy lines of the Indian peoples was to the progress of the human race. It was an integral figure of no small magnitude in the sum-total of Indian civilization, and in the political calculations of modern times it would be unwise to regard it as a negligible quantity. It was a component part of an organic political whole ; and whatever militated against its vigorous growth was calculated ultimately to retard the development of the latter. It was a minority possessed of such prominent characteristics, and endowed with such persistent vitality, that its complete absorption in the Hindu majority was neither feasible nor desirable ; and no movement that ignored this postulate could, under the existing conditions of Indian advancement, contribute to the harmonious evolution of national life in this country. Syed Ahmad Khan had no faith in the vicious doctrine of tyrannous majorities riding roughshod over decrepit minorities, and he could not, therefore, subscribe to political principles which, when pushed to their logical consequences, would lead to this result. If, under the unifying influences of Western civilization, the Indian races were to be welded into one nation, the process of fusion to be successful must, he thought, be regulated by a conscientious regard for the welfare of each race. There

must be a carefully balanced co-ordination of racial interests, such as would furnish the solid foundation of a well-proportioned political superstructure, and not a cunningly devised subordination of the needs of one community to those of another, which would considerably enhance the helplessness of the classes that stand most in need of help. According to him, Hindu and Muhammadan were not convertible terms; each had an independent value of its own, and each, as the necessary complement of the other, was an essential factor in the solidarity of the Indian people. The tone and complexion of the future Indian civilization was not to be exclusively Hindu, but was to be considerably affected by Muslim traditions and influences, which, however much they may be blinked or despised, were indispensable socio-political contributions to the organic evolution of the Indian polity.

It was because, in Syed Ahmad Khan's judgment, the Congress leaders had overlooked these and similar considerations, and because they had adopted political axioms and a *modus operandi* which were calculated, under normal conditions of Indian life, to lead to a depression of the social and political status of the Muhammadans, that he came to the conclusion that the latter must not join the Congress movement. He knew intimately the weak points in the national character of his co-religionists; and felt, far more keenly than others did, that they were incapable of sharing with their Hindu friends the serious responsibilities of political action. He knew that they were far behind the Hindus in education and wealth—the two great factors of political power; that until their educational and material resources were considerably strengthened, they could not compete on equal terms with their Hindu friends in the various departments of human activity. He knew that owing to diversities of race, religion, manners, and customs, the majority of them had not much in common with their Hindu fellow-countrymen; that they constituted a weak minority whose interests in relation to State employment and State patronage were, in the stress and struggle of modern life,

liable to be overridden by an assertive majority. He knew that they were labouring under serious disabilities which the Congress was pledged to ignore ; that the acceptance by them of the Congress programme, with its chief items of unqualified election as the basis of membership of Municipal Corporations and Legislative Councils, and open, unlimited competition for State employment, would seriously handicap them in the race of progress and enfeeble their recuperative powers for an indefinitely long period. He was convinced that, owing to a variety of causes, they were unduly predisposed to relish political excitement of a vulgar type : that they constituted inflammable material upon which the spark of political agitation would act with fatal rapidity. He further believed that intellectual, moral, and material progress up to a certain standard was among them a condition precedent to the beneficial enjoyment of political rights and privileges which the Congress demanded of the Government, that the attainment of that standard, which should be their first object, would be greatly retarded if they were to devote their available energies to the promotion of the Congress aims.

If, then, with a knowledge of all this and with these convictions, Syed Ahmad Khan came boldly forward and stepped between the Muhammadans and the Congress, determined to dissuade his co-religionists from committing what he conceived to be political suicide, and if with a view to effectively promoting their national progress he earnestly endeavoured to unite the scattered forces of the community into an educational movement of great potentialities, are his critics justified in ascribing sinister motives to him, and in calling him a narrow-minded bigot and a traitor to his country ? Does not the whole history of his life as it unfolds itself before our eyes from period to period—the consistent development of his remarkable character as a public man—belie all disparaging estimates of his public actions ? Does not his career disclose throughout an indomitable moral courage and a rare independence of judgment ; an intense love of his co-religionists ; an unconquerable resolution to

promote their moral and material progress, so that they might realise the highest conception of modern civilizaion ; a profound faith in the providential character of the British domination in India ; and an unfaltering belief in the ultimate intellectual and political progress of his country ? He dissented emphatically from the Congress propaganda because it took no note of Muhammadan disabilities, which no all-India movement should have ignored ; and because in practice it was calculated to work to the positive detriment of important Muhammadan interests. He was an Indian Musalman first and an Indian afterwards. As a Muslim patriot, he owed a duty to his own community which he could not honestly trifle with, and which he could under no circumstances sacrifice to political figment.

In speaking of the hostile attitude of the Muhammadans towards the Indian National Congress, as influenced by Syed Ahmad Khan's public dissent from it, we must not lose sight of three causes which mainly determined the character of that attitude, but which in public discussions have often been obscured by vague generalities indulged in on both sides.

First, the political literature that inundated the country shortly before the Naional Congress was formally organized, was unfortunately pitched in tone of the deepest discontent and the most angry declamation against the British Government in India. This shocked many a Muhammadan leader who would otherwise have been prepared to recognize the reasonableness of some of the demands formulated therein. Sensational newspaper articles appeared in an endless series to regale an excited reading public, and pamphlets full of violent language and of ominous forebodings, such as *The Old Man's Hope, The Rising Tide, The Star in the East,* and *The Dialogue between Maulvi Fariduddin and Ram Bakhsh,* were printed and distributed broadcast in their tens of thousands. Thoughtful men responsible for the peace and progress of the country could not read this kind of literature without misgivings at the prospect of Indian ignorance being roused under such influences into political frenzy.

Syed Ahmad Khan marked well the trend of political thought in Young India, and was fully prepared for the storm that was brewing in the sombre skies of Bengal.

Secondly, the political creed adopted by the Congress comprised, besides some minor doctrines, three important articles of faith, namely, (1) the introduction of the elective principle into the Legislative Councils of the country, (2) open, unlimited competition for State service, (3) no regard for minorities,—articles to which the Muhammadans were not prepared to subscribe.

Thirdly, the tactics adopted by the promoters of the Congress to secure the representative character of the "National" assembly were sufficient to excite and strengthen Muhammadan opposition to it. As the birth of the Congress was preceded by active hostility to Muhammadan interests on the part of the Hindu press in Northern India, which, led by Bengali newspapers, became more marked in the early eighties, and as the infant institution was nursed chiefly in the bosom of Bengal, the Muhammadans conceived an initial antipathy to the new political organization which concomitant circumstances did much to foster. Some leading Muhammadans from Bombay and Patna, and from one or two other important towns in India, no doubt sided with the Congress, but their number was so small, and the influence which they exercised over their co-religionists in matters political so inappreciable, that they could not carry the bulk of the community with them. Led by Mr. Ameer Ali in Bengal and Syed Ahmad Khan in Upper India, the vast majority of the educated Muhammadans in all walks of life, comprising persons of various degrees of enlightenment and different shades of opinion, were more actively opposed to the Congress than indifferent to it; and so far as their own interests were concerned, viewed with profound and undisguised distrust the tendencies of the new movement. The promoters of the Congress were naturally much exercised over this state of things, as the aloofness from it of an important community like the Muhammadans seriously detracted from the representative character claimed for this "National"

assembly, and furnished the Anglo-Indian officials with a cogent reason for refusing to recognize its alleged importance. This led to the adoption of various means to procure the representation of Muhammadans at the annual sessions of the Congress which did little credit to its organizers and further alienated not a few of its fair-minded, honest opponents. Year after year in nearly all the important towns, Muhammadans were cajoled, ensnared or bribed into becoming delegates of the Congress, and the local importance of not a few of them, like the famous Nawabs of the Lucknow session of the Congress, was proclaimed in the press and the Congress report with a flourish of trumpets. In the year 1893 when the Congress assembled at Lahore, I was an eye-witness to the undisguised manner in which Muhammadan representation was manufactured; and I must say that ever since that session the promoters of the Congress, for some of whom I used to entertain sincere respect, have very much gone down in my estimation.

The three causes which I have enumerated above mainly determined Muhammadan opposition to the Congress, and Syed Ahmad Khan gave emphatic expression to that opposition in two of his famous speeches, one delivered at Lucknow on the 28th December, 1887, and the other at Meerut on the 16th March, 1888. These speeches contain a fairly accurate exposition of Syed Ahmad Khan's view with regard to the Congress as it was organized and worked at the time, but it would be a mistake to regard them as a full summary of his political creed. They also contain expressions which appear to me to be a little too strong in the light of the habitual moderation of the speaker; and his flings at the Bengalees, though a mere rhetorical embellishment, were such as a man of his calibre might have avoided. In August, 1888, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan established, in conjunction with some leading Hindus of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Indian Patriotic Association, which was the first organized attempt at an active anti-Congress propaganda. One result of this was that a wave of anti-Congress sentiment swept over Muhammadan India, which found expression in

countless resolutions passed at public meetings held in all parts of the country. From that time the Congress may be said to have lost Muhammadan support, for though individual Muhammadans, and some of them gentlemen of undoubted ability and high position, continued to espouse the Congress cause, the community as such assumed towards it an attitude of opposition which it has ever since retained.

Syed Ahmad Khan had all along felt the necessity of stimulating among his co-religionists a desire for organizing a system of national education, and to attain this end he founded the M.A.O. College at Aligarh as far back as 1875. But this hardly sufficed to compass the desired object, and he had, therefore, long wished to supplement this institution by a movement which should be a fuller expression of the national ideal of education and should command greater influence in the country. This idea assumed a practical shape in the establishment of the Muhammadan Educational Conference in 1886, which in the life-time of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan held its annual sittings at some of the important towns of Northern India, and which has since his death extended its sphere of influence so as to embrace all other parts of the country. It is an educational movement of the greatest promise in Muhammadan India; and is in every sense of the expression a national Muhammadan organization. The political opponents of Syed Ahmad Khan have ever since the establishment of this Conference regarded it in the light of a political association intended to be worked in opposition to the Congress, and have, therefore, frequently attempted to minimise its educational significance. No idea can, however, be more ill-founded, or based upon a greater misconception of the true ideals of Syed Ahmad Khan's life. It may well be that the formation of the National Congress accelerated the establishment of the Educational Conference, inasmuch as in the domain of human advancement one great idea frequently generates another; but from the course which the evolution of Syed Ahmad Khan's ideals took ever since the Mutiny we may reasonably infer that the Conference, in one shape or another, would have come into

existence in Syed Ahmad Khan's life-time, even if the Congress had never been organized. One thing at any rate is certain, namely, that the Muhammadan Educational Conference was never a political organization, nor has it ever been concerned, as a body, directly or indirectly, in countenancing opposition to the Indian National Congress. It is a purely educational organization; and since its inception in 1886 has never identified itself with or given the slightest support to the political opinions of its individual members. Its constitution, objects, and methods of work are at this moment essentially the same as those stated 18 years ago, and its ultimate success as a national movement is due to the observance of the same principles as were laid down by its founder. In the face of these facts is it not astounding to find a gentleman of the position of Mr. Justice Badr-ud-din Tyabji speaking of the Educational Conference as having been at one time hostile to the National Congress? In his presidential address delivered at the seventeenth session of the Conference held at Bombay, Mr. Tyabji is reported to have said :—

"You are, no doubt, aware, that although the Conference has been in existence for several years past, I have not hitherto been able to take any active part in its deliberations. No doubt there have been many reasons for this, to which it is unnecessary to refer. But there is one in regard to which I must say a few words. Gentlemen, you are, no doubt, aware that I have always been a supporter of the Indian National Congress. In my younger and freer days, when I was not trammelled with the responsibilities imposed by my present office, and when I was, therefore, able to take a more active part in public life, and especially in the politics of the empire, I deemed it my duty to support the Congress, and, as you may perhaps know, I had the honour of presiding at the Congress held in Madras some years ago. On that occasion I described my election as the highest honour that could be paid to any Indian gentleman by his fellow-subjects of the empire. Being of that opinion at that time, and being still of that opinion now, you will readily understand that it was not possible for me to take any part in connection with any institution which had or could be supposed to have the slightest trace of being hostile or antagonistic to the Congress. Now, however, when the position of the Conference is well-defined as an educational and social institution and not as a political institution, and, therefore, when there can be no semblance of hostility or antagonism between those two institutions

I could with perfectly easy conscience accept the high honour of presiding at your deliberations."

The above words must have amused the members of the Conference who listened to them quite as much as they amused me when I read them in the papers. They disclose an ignorance of the constitution and past working of the Conference which in a Muhammadan gentleman of Mr. Tyabji's position cannot be condoned, except perhaps on the ground that they were uttered by one who attended the Conference for the first time in 1903, seventeen years after its establishment, and who has never been properly in touch with any movement with which Syed Ahmad Khan was ever associated. The moral of Mr. Tyabji's words is, however, significant. If he could be so ignorant of the character, aims, and objects of the Muhammadan Conference after it had been in existence for no less than seventeen years, how much more ignorant of its principles and its propaganda must those Hindu patriots be, whose political assembly—the fairest hope of their life—Syed Ahmad Khan declined to join and who, therefore, naturally have a pious horror of every movement connected with the M.A.O. College at Aligarh?

So much, then, as to the non-political character of the Muhammadan Educational Conference. And as the Conference was the principal national movement with which Syed Ahmad Khan was intimately associated during the closing years of his life, I feel that I have nothing more to say on the subject of my address this evening. Before, however, I close, you would perhaps expect me to say a word or two on the question which has recently been debated in the Muhammadan press; namely, whether the Muhammadans should now join the Indian National Congress, or, as an alternative, establish a central political organization of their own with a view to taking such political action as under the circumstances may command itself to the community. The question is doubtless an important one, but I have already answered it at some length in the columns of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, and I adhere to

the views I have expressed in that paper. I may, however, say in passing that I have always entertained respect for the more moderate and level-headed among the leaders of the Congress, and have never shared the belief that it is mainly a body of seditious malcontents who aim at the overthrow of British Government in India. It no doubt has its fire-brands, and its go-ahead politicians, who think that India does not move fast enough towards the goal of self-government; but the responsible leaders of the movement may well be trusted to be the best friends of order and good government, and are, I believe, loyal supporters of the British cause in the East. The tone and complexion of the political thought of the Congress, and the character of the speeches delivered on the Congress platform, have, it seems to me, on the whole, undergone a wholesome change in recent years, so that with added experience and a heightened sense of responsibility, born out of an enlarged store of political knowledge, we may expect its leaders to become in course of time more reasonable and moderate in their demands from Government, and more considerate of the special claims of the weaker communities in this country. In spite, however, of all these considerations, there are very weighty reasons in support of the position of aloofness that special needs to meet and our own difficulties to surmount, the Muhammadans have adopted with regard to the Congress; and unless there is a material change of circumstances, I for one can see no reasonable prospect of our community benefiting by abandoning that position. Our inferiority to our Hindu brethren in point of education, wealth and numbers has entailed upon us a loss of social and political influence which cannot be made good simply by our swelling the rank and file of the Congress and by shouting victory to its fighting heroes. We have our own task for the accomplishment of which our scanty resources are barely sufficient. We cannot afford to starve our Educational Conference, for if there is one thing more needful than another to ensure genuine Muhammadan progress in modern India, it is the imparting of modern education to the

Muhammadans, and this object can be effectually accomplished only by bringing about a wholesome change of thought in the Muslim mind upon lines of which the Conference is the most practical realisation. And those who know anything of the working of the Conference must concede that under existing conditions the Muhammadans as a community cannot join the Congress without dealing a deathblow to the Conference.

Before I conclude, I must once more remind you all of the part that you as educated young men have to play in promoting the good of your community and country, and of the duty that you as citizens of the British Empire owe to the Government under whose protection you live. Remember that the past history of your country,—a history as varied and vast as that of any other nation, ancient or modern—is a storehouse of political knowledge and experience from which you can learn many a lesson for your future guidance. Remember also that in evolving your political creed or in determining your course of political action, you have to deal not only with ancient traditions of a peculiar type but also with facts and forces and considerations which are without parallel in any other civilised country ; and that it would be destructive of all progress if you were to form hasty views or to take precipitate action on the basis of certain theoretical principles which may read well on paper but which may be ill-suited to our intellectual and social environment. Whatever views you may ultimately form, and whatever action you may finally decide to take, do so after exercising the greatest discrimination and after studying deeply and anxiously the interaction of the complicated forces that are at work among the various communities in modern India. The nation which has established order and good government in this country, which has conferred upon you the blessings of a modern education, which has granted and guaranteed to you liberty of thought and speech, and above all which has endowed you with the consciousness of nationality and of rights possessed by subject races against their rulers,—ideas

which were unknown under former Governments,—I say a nation which has given you all this has a right to demand in return that you should not judge its actions unfairly and harshly, and that you should conscientiously assist it in discharging those moral and political obligations towards the Indian races which nation owes to nation and man owes to man. This was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's political creed ; and you will not go far wrong if you base your political action upon the principle which he strove in his life-time to inculcate.

15

SPEECH AT THE PUNJAB LAW SOCIETY (31-1-1903)*

AFTER what has been said by the learned speakers who have preceded me, I should have thought that it was needless for me to offer any observations on the points raised in the eloquent and suggestive address which has been delivered by Sir Lewis Tupper this evening. But as I have been called upon to take part in the discussion, I must obey the summons, if only to express, however inadequately, my hearty appreciation of the high ideals that have been placed before us by our learned President. I am sure that we all of us in this hall view with great satisfaction the establishment of this Law Society, one object of which is to create a common platform on which the Bench and the Bar of this Province will meet and work in harmony with a view to effectually promoting the scientific study of Law, which must precede, what has been termed, the administrative study of it. Sir Lewis Tupper is right in saying that in the work of this Society the professional aspect of the study of Law must be subordinated to the other two aspects of it, viz., the scientific and the administrative, but I have no doubt that the coming together of the Bench and the Bar at our meetings will have the effect on the one hand, of raising the tone of the Bar, and on the other, of enabling the members of the Punjab Judiciary to rightly understand the Bar, and to appreciate the important part which the latter plays in the administration of justice. As Mr. Grey has said, there appears to be an impression that legal practitioners often try to mislead the Bench. No impression could be more unfounded. The Bench ought to know that heavy responsibility rests on our shoulders when we represent litigants

* *The Civil and Military Gazette*. February 7, 1903.

in law-courts ; and I need hardly assure you that the great majority of the members of the Bar in this province, as elsewhere, conscientiously endeavour to fulfil the obligation without the least intention of perverting the ends of justice. Turning now to the more practical topics of Law dealt with in the address, we find the topic Punjab Customary Law in the foreground. Sir Lewis has made most useful suggestions in this connection, and has noticed with emphasis the question of codification of this Branch of Law. My learned friend Mr. Madan Gopal has said, in concurrence with Sir Lewis, that the Customary Law should be codified, and he has referred to the valuable materials collected by settlement officers out of which, he thinks, a code could be advantageously framed. With all deference, I think that the other side of the question should not be overlooked, as I believe that many strong reasons can be given in support of the opinion that several important branches of the Customary Law are still in the transitional stage of Legal evolution, and that it is premature to codify customary rules which at best represent but crude, undefined and incoherent conceptions. The subject, however, is an extremely interesting one ; and I have no doubt that when it comes to be discussed at one of our future meetings, we shall have lively debate upon it.

Sir Lewis has alluded to the place which the Hindu Law and the Muhammadan Law occupy in the British Legal system in India and has suggested that the history of Hindu Law and that of Muhammadan Law both before and after the establishment of British dominion in this country are subjects which might well engage the attention of members of this Society. Unfortunately, Customary Law predominates in this province to such an extent that the Hindu and the Muhammadan Laws are forced, if I may use the expression, to hide their diminished heads in our law-courts, and who will wonder that the study of these two important Legal systems has come to be regarded in the Punjab of but an academic interest unworthy of the attention of the busy lawyer. Surely this is a regrettable state

of things; and I earnestly hope that as suggested by our learned President, this Society will awaken real interest in the study of these systems of Laws. I, for one, shall endeavour to find time to write a paper on the subject of Muhammadan Law as suggested by Sir Lewis Tupper, and I trust that other members may also be willing to devote their attention to other topics which have been touched upon in the learned address which has furnished us with invaluable suggestions on points of permanent legal importance.

Replying on the discussion the President Sir Lewis Tupper made his final remarks in which, among other things, he said :—

"I must frankly tell you that when I was writing my address I had in mind various actual or possible members of the Society who would probably be able to produce at least some of the various papers I suggested. Now it so happens that Mr. Shah Din was the very man I had thought of for the subject he has offered."

16

PUNJAB LOANS LIMITATION BILL

*(A speech delivered in the Punjab Legislative Council on or about 19-11-1904).**

I VERY much regret that I am not able to agree either in the principle or in the details of this Bill. The primary and main intention of Bill is, as the Select Committee say in their report, to extend the period of limitation in respect of those monetary transactions which more particularly concern the agricultural classes of the Punjab. The period of three years allowed under the existing law in respect of such transactions is, it is considered, unduly short, and in practice gives rise to two unfortunate results ; namely, increased litigation and the consequent bad feeling between the indebted agriculturist and the village money-lender. By extending the period of limitation to 6 years these results will, it is thought, be avoided, as creditors will not in that case be forced, as it is said they are at present, to put their debtors into Court in order to prevent their claims from being barred by limitation, and will be encouraged to allow them further time for payment. Now, I yield to no one in my desire to see litigation among agricultural classes decrease, as I am convinced that petty litigation, combined with certain other causes, is in part responsible for agricultural indebtedness in this part of the country. Nor am I less anxious than any of my honourable colleagues at this table to place the relations between the village money-lender and the agriculturist on a footing of mutual friendliness and good feeling, as I consider that the existence of harmonious relations between them is essential to the prosperity of both, and powerfully contributes, under exist-

* It may here be remarked that the present Law of Limitation with regard to monetary transactions is in accord with the views expressed here by Mian Shah Din.

ing conditions, to economic advance in our village communities. But after giving my very best consideration to this Bill and to the alleged shortcomings of the present Law of Limitation with special reference to the requirements of the Punjab zamindars, I regret I am unable to perceive the need for this legislative measure, nor am I satisfied that passed into law, it will compass the very commendable objects which the Honourable member in charge of the Bill has in view.

The Council will observe that though the Bill is primarily intended to benefit the agricultural classes, because of the unsuitability of the existing law to their needs its provisions are not confined to them, but will apply to all classes of the community, the object being, as the Select Committee point out, to secure, as far as possible, uniformity of the law. This has led to two important and, if I may be allowed to say so, unforeseen results.

First, because mercantile classes have to be brought within the purview of the Bill with a view to securing uniformity of the law, the scope of the Bill has been extended by the Select Committee as regards classes of transactions as well, and in order to make the Bill a complete piece of legislation, as far as it can go, it has been made to cover many transactions which are to all intents and purposes peculiar to non-agricultural classes.

Secondly, the main object of the Bill, which was primarily intended to be a measure directed towards protecting the interests of a special class, has been largely departed from, and very nearly all kinds of monetary dealings arising principally out of commercial transactions which were originally outside the proper scope of the Bill have now been included within it. Now, I think I am not far wrong in assuming that if it had not been for the idea that the rural classes in the province stood in need of a legislative measure such as this Bill, the introduction of it in this Council would have been thought both unnecessary and undesirable,—unnecessary because the mercantile communities in towns have never expressed dissatisfaction with the existing law on the

subject, and undesirable because, so far as they are concerned, a special law of limitation for the Punjab at variance with the law in force in the other provinces of India, is likely to give rise to confusion and legal complication. If I am right in this view, I think it follows that either the provisions of this Bill should have been confined to agricultural classes, or, if that was considered for any reason impracticable, then only that class of transactions should have been brought within its purview which have the most real connection with the rural population. If special legislation is needed in the interest of a special class, its benefit should in my opinion be confined to that class, and if for any cause such restriction affects other classes prejudicially, the reasons in support of such class legislation lose much of their force. The conclusion therefore that I have arrived at is that, so far as the mercantile classes in this province are concerned, the extension of the period of limitaton from three to six years is certainly not called for, and that so long as the present law of limitation remains in force in all other parts of India, a disturbance of the *status quo* such as is involved in the proposed extension is, at any rate from the standpoint of contractual equilibrium, open to objection. If, as is observed in the statement of Objects and Reasons, the proposed change in the law is desirable because, among other things, it possesses the commercial advantage of assimilating the rule observed here with that which is already prescribed by the law of England, is it not equally desirable, in the interests of Indian commerce, that there should be one uniform law of Limitation throughout British India, and that, in the absence of very cogent reasons to the contrary, commercial concerns in the Punjab should continue to be regulated by the law which has been in operation here with satisfactory results ever since 1867? If, as I venture to suggest, the mercantile classes are excluded from the provisions of the Bill, a number of articles included in the schedule to the Bill which describe transactions almost unknown to agriculturists but which bear materially upon commerce at large, will have to be struck out, with the

result that the Bill will be very much simplified, and will depart as little as possible from the Indian Limitation Act of 1877.

I now come to the consideration of the far more important question as to whether the Bill is needed in the interests of the agricultural population in this province. I regret that after giving my most anxious thought to this question, I am constrained to answer it in the negative.

My reasons for this conclusion are briefly as follows :—

(1) The tendency of legislation in India, as in almost all other countries, has been towards shortening the period of limitation in respect of suits based upon contract. Section 14 of Regulation No. III of 1793, which governed Mufassil courts in Bengal, prescribed a limitation of 12 years for suits arising out of monetary claims. The same rule of limitation was adopted in Bombay Regulation No. I of 1800 and in Madras Regulation No. II of 1802. Subsequently Bombay Regulation No. V of 1827 reduced the period of limitation from 12 years to 6 years in regard to all suits for debts not founded upon or supported by an acknowledgment in writing.

These regulations, as is well known, did not apply to Non-Regulation Provinces. The Punjab Code modified Bengal Regulation III of 1793 (Sec. 14) and reduced the limitation of actions for the debt based upon contract, excepting partnership accounts, from 12 to 6 years. The first Act of Limitation, Act XIV of 1859, provided, with certain exceptions, one uniform law of limitation for all the courts in British India. It shortened the periods of limitation allowed by the Regulations, which governed the Mufassil Courts in Regulation Provinces, and by the statute of James I (21 James I, C. 16) which governed the three Supreme Courts in the three Presidency towns. The general periods adopted were twelve years for suits relating to immovable property and six years for other personal demands. The shorter period of three years was adopted in respect of suits for money lent, for breaches of unregistered contracts, for rents and for hire. Ten years later a more carefully drawn and more

symmetrical statute of limitation was passed in the shape of Act IX of 1871, which, while amending the Act of 1859 in certain very important particulars, left intact its provisions as to the limitation of suits arising out of loans and breaches of unregistered contracts. Act IX of 1871 was shortly afterwards replaced by Act XV of 1871 which is the present law on the subject. This Act, which is a considerably improved edition of the Act of 1871, retains the period of 3 years prescribed by its predecessors, but in respect of suits for money payable on demand it practically reduces the prescribed period by providing that time will run from the date of the transaction instead of from the date of the demand, as laid down by Act IX of 1871 (Articles 59 & 73, Schedule II).

From what I have said above the Honourable members will see that the rule of three years' limitation, which is sought to be amended by this Bill, has been in force in British India ever since the first Limitation Act (XIV of 1859) was passed. This Act was extended to the Punjab in December 1866, and our agricultural classes have, therefore, been governed by the law in question for the last 37 years. Unless, therefore, the Council is fully convinced that this law has worked to the detriment of these classes and that the proposed extension will confer material benefits upon them, we shall hardly be justified in altering the law so late in the day and adopting a position of isolation with respect to the rest of India.

(2) I am not prepared to believe that the proposed change in the law will directly tend to decrease litigation among the agricultural classes and to improve the relations between them and the money-lending community. The village creditor whose chief object is to allow interest to accumulate, ordinarily does his utmost to induce his debtor to defer payment by striking a balance or giving a fresh bond ; and it is only when the debtor who is unable to pay will not agree to this (which as a matter of fact happens very rarely) that the creditor puts him into Court. The proposed extension of limitation will not affect this state of things ;

in fact, it will result in the interest on the principal running to larger amount than is the case now, and in enhancing, in the majority of cases, the debtor's difficulties in the way of payment. As a further consequence, it will simply postpone the institution of suits, engendering, when suits are instituted, bad feeling as at present; and the volume of litigation will remain very much what it is now. My own experience is that if an agriculturist is honestly anxious to pay the debt due, and wants further time for payment, the law of limitation does not ordinarily stand in his way, as the village money-lender is equally, if not more, desirous of allowing further time, and the two generally agree to an arrangement which saves limitation.

(3) Under the existing law, the debtor gets a periodical reminder at an interval of at most three years that he owes a debt which he must pay. The ordinary Punjab zamindar whose one prominent characteristic is his pernicious habit of sleeping over his liabilities sorely needs such a reminder, and the shorter the interval of time the better for him and his family. The extended limitation may help a small minority of villagers who are frugal in their habits and judicious in the use of their opportunities, and who know how to husband their seasonal wants. But as regards the vast majority of the zamindars, it will probably result in making them more oblivious of the demands against them, and less able to meet those demands when they come to be enforced.

(4) The proposed law will very probably increase the power of the village money-lender over his clientele. The superior tactics and shrewd business habits of the former enable him generally to over-reach and exercise undue influence over the latter, whose ignorance of the most elementary things in money matters is as profound as it is surprising. The longer the period of limitation, the longer the book accounts, which the debtor will not care to examine or verify, and the opportunities for fraud and forgery will proportionately multiply. The balance will be struck leisurely enough, perhaps once in six years, and then the

unfortunate debtor will suddenly wake up to the grim reality of a heavy debt far beyond his means of immediate payment. The astute money-lender will, if the debtor's credit is sound, agree after some demur to take a bond for the amount, assuring the debtor of his goodwill towards him, and the book account will thereafter have another smooth run of six years. Surely, such a state of things is least likely to minimise the evil of agricultural indebtedness in the Punjab.

(5) I agree with the opinion of some of the judicial officers who have been consulted that the proposed law will add to the difficulties of the Courts in deciding as to the justice of a claim or of a defence in ordinary money suits. At present there are no safeguards against fake accounts being prepared by village money-lenders, who seldom keep a regular set of account books, and as forgery and fraud are not uncommon in villages where the means of detection are almost non-existent, the risk of the Courts accepting entries in account books without properly scrutinising them becomes all the greater, the longer the period allowed for institution of suits. Fake evidence will also be used more frequently as an instrument of proof and the chances of a miscarriage of justice will be greater. The powerful money-lender will generally succeed and the weak agriculturists will go to the wall.

(6) At present, whenever an extension of time for payment is necessary, the creditor and the debtor in rural areas, in the absence of exceptional circumstances, generally take advantage of the provisions of Section 19 and Section 20 of the Indian Limitation Act to extend the period of limitation. These provisions appear in practice sufficient to meet the requirements of the agricultural population and therefore the present Bill—which in a way only places within the reach of the debtors the same facilities as the above provisions are meant to provide, but which in practical working will entail certain serious disadvantages—appears to me to be uncalled for.

Then Mian Shah Din went on to say "a few words on the details of the Bill."

17

THE WORLD WE LIVE IN

(A FRAGMENT)

THIS was found written on a now crumbling piece of paper, with the following notes jotted down on top, apparently to serve as a synopsis of an intended article, of which only a small portion has survived :—

"Home-truths—

......ld—the Muhammadan—The Hindu-Anglo-Indians—Hindus and Muhammadans—Natives—Europeans—our leaders (a character sketch)—A School for scandal—wanted—A public opinion.—A leader".

"Truth, it is said, is always bitter, but it must be told even at the risk of offending your brother. I have been watching the world around me since my boyhood and (am) now well advanced in years ; and experience has taught me that though....sometimes....is not always golden....(I have) tried the virtue of being indifferent to the prevailing iniquities of society whatever shape they may assume, and have at times connived at my own friends such as they are, freely indulging in them, which I have been sincerely told is a greater virtue and bespeaks a magnanimous mind. As to how far such magnanimity of mind indicates a living conscience, is a question on which lately I have (begun) to entertain very grave doubts, and something in (me) has almost audibly upbraided me for thus looking (perfectly) unconcerned, while the sacred flame is gradually consuming....to cold ashes and the moral fabric of society is tottering to its foundations. I am, therefore, constrained (to speak) but I have no intention of preaching (to) reluctant ears, much less to....

نصیحت گوش کن جانان که از جان دوست تر دارند
جوانان سعادت مند پند پیر دانا را*

I must also explain that these words are meant for (a) very limited circle of hearers, and that though I have adopted the rash course of speaking from the cosmopolitan platform of a newspaper, I do not wish to admit into (the) audience hall gentlemen of deep erudition and lofty ideas who find it impossible to descend to the level (of) a commonplace discourse, or ladies in the garb of gentlemen, who may be prone to hysterical fits (and) can't bear the tonic of an exciting conversation........................(?)....nor do I hate mankind, but I must say that I do honestly hate the world we live in. This may sound paradoxical, but I find I cannot otherwise truly express my feelings on the subject."

* "Hear my advice, O loved one, for virtuous youth hold dearer than life the advice of a wise old man."

18

SPEECH AT EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

KARACHI (1907)

AT the Sind Section of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference held on 26th December 1907 at Karachi, after the Honourable Mr. E. Giles, Director-General of Education, had spoken on Muhammadan backwardness in education, and nobody seemed ready to answer his criticism, the Honourable Mian Muhammad Shah Din got up and said :—

"I am sure I am only giving expression to the common sentiment by which all of us in this *pandal* are animated when I say that we feel deeply grateful to Mr. Giles, the officiating Director-General of Education in India, for the great honour he has done us in gracing this Conference with his presence this morning. The kindly advice, couched in words of pregnant wisdom, which he has addressed to us, will never be construed by us as adverse criticism, and I believe I am expressing your heartfelt conviction when I assure Mr. Giles that if he had not been so plain-spoken as he has been on the present occasion, we would perhaps have been inclined to think that he simply wished to please us by giving utterance to smooth words and phrases and had no desire to guide us by showing us the right way. There is a most valuable Persian couplet which runs thus :—

دوست آنست که معائب دوست   همچو آئینه روبرو گوید

Rendered into homely English, the couplet means : "A friend is he who tells a friend to his face his defects as faithfully as does a mirror" ; and I think I may, in the figurative language used by the Persian poet, speak of Mr. Giles as the mirror in which the educational defects of our

community are faithfully reflected and revealed. Mr. Giles's remarks on the educational condition of Muhammadans are all the more valuable to this Conference, as at the present moment he occupies the highest office in the Education Department of the Government; and although he has been good enough to say that his observations relate more particularly to the Bombay Presidency, in which he has acted as Director of Public Instruction for about seven years, we may, I think, legitimately credit him with educational experience of a wider scope derived from acquaintance with conditions prevailing over a wider area. This being the case, I feel that if on the present occasion we do not carefully ponder over his words of advice and do not take them to heart, we shall fail in the performance of a momentous duty that we owe to the whole Muhammadan community.

As I have said, we are all profoundly grateful to Mr. Giles for the wise counsel which he has been pleased to give us this morning, but there are one or two points touched upon in his speech in regard to which I would like to make a few observations. Mr. Giles has quoted certain figures which go to show that the Muhammadans of the Bombay Presidency are most backward as compared with other communities in the matter of education. Before I heard Mr. Giles I had a general impression of the educational backwardness of my co-religionists in this part of the country, but I confess I never had any conception of the lamentable state of things which the heart-breaking figures quoted by Mr. Giles this morning have revealed to this Conference. We have so far held our sittings in provinces where, with one or two exceptions, the education of Muhammadans is in a comparatively better condition, and although I had been told that the Muhammadans of Sind lagged very much behind other communities in the arts of civilization, I never thought that they were so hopelessly backward in modern education, as after hearing Mr. Giles I have found them to be. At the same time, it seems to me that there is no cause for despair, as I venture to think (and I am supported in this belief by some of the interesting speeches we have heard

from our Sindhi friends in the course of our proceedings) that Muslim backwardness in regard to secondary and higher education has in the past been due partly to causes over which in the nature of things they had little control. I am convinced that if the educational authorities in Sind were to extend a helping hand to Muhammadans they will strive to regain some of the lost ground. Mr. Giles has referred to the question of recruiting the Education Department in this Presidency, and to the difficulty of finding competent Muhammadans for this purpose. He has also been pleased to say that in spite of his anxiety to give the Muhammadans their due share of the scholarships founded by Government for the advancement of industrial education, he has been unable to find suitable candidates in our community. While fully recognising the bona-fides of the Government in its desire to find competent Muhammadans for recruiting the public service and for similar objects, I may claim the liberty of saying that the authorities in this Presidency have not been liberal enough in their efforts to solve the Muhammadan problem. If competent Muhammadans cannot be found in Sind or in other parts of the Bombay Presidency, I can see no valid reason why suitable Muhammadan candidates for posts of responsibility and trust should not be grafted from other parts of India. The claim of the Muhammadans to be recognised and treated as a distinct community for most administrative purposes seems now to have been admitted by the Government, and I certainly think that in regard to the question of the public service and in cognate matters it is a mistake to treat the various provinces of India as so many water-tight compartments, so far as the utilization of Muhammadan talent is concerned.

Mr. Giles has been good enough to refer with some satisfaction to the comparatively advanced state of Muhammadan education in the Punjab, as evidenced by the number and variety of degrees in arts and sciences lately conferred on Muhammadans at the Convocation of the Punjab University. As a Fellow of that University, I had the privilege

to take part in its Convocation held this month, which Mr. Giles also attended ; and I am right in saying that out of eight Masters of Arts on whom degrees were conferred by the University no less than half were Muhammadans. This shows that, at any rate in the neighbouring province of the Punjab, well educated and competent Muhammadans for the purpose of recruiting the public service in Sind can be found ; and if only the Bombay Government were to relax some of its cast-iron rules which govern such matters, there should not be much difficulty in providing the Muhammadan province of Sind with efficient Muhammadan public servants.

I agree with Mr. Giles that Muhammadans should not rely upon Government favour, which as he has truly said is a sign and an admission of weakness ; but as in most parts of the country Muhammadans have suffered and are suffering in certain matters from peculiar disabilities which greatly handicap them in the race of life, they are certainly entitled to look up to the Government for active sympathy and encouragement. We know that self-help is the first requisite of all solid national advancement ; but a little timely and sympathetic encouragement from the authorities, which can in no sense be termed a bestowal of "favours," will enable the Muhammadans to tide over the present difficulty and to equip themselves with effective weapons to fight the battle of life.

Mr. Giles has given us very sound advice in suggesting, for the consideration of this Conference, the desirability of instituting a well-organised system of scholarships not only in the Bombay Presidency but also in other parts of India, with a view to promoting Muhammadan education. The importance of the suggested system can hardly be overestimated ; for I have always felt that if a sufficiently large number of scholarships were instituted in each province for Muhammadan students in secondary schools and in Arts Colleges, the educational problem with which this Conference has been grappling for many years past would materially be solved. I believe that the institution of a national system of scholarships worked upon sound princi-

ples would be far more useful in the way of true progress in Muhammadan education than the efforts, often praiseworthy in themselves, but none the less misguided, which have now and then been made in some parts of the country to establish under-manned and inefficient schools and colleges for the exclusive education of Muhammadans. In this connection, I think I may say that I agree with Mr. Giles in his view that it is a mistake to encourage the tendency of Muhammadans to multiply denominational institutions, which not only languish for want of funds and good management but in which the Muhammadan students are deprived of the opportunity of competing with boys of other communities in the acquisition of knowledge and the development of mental and moral faculties, and of knowing their strong and weak points preparatory to going out into the world to fight the battle of life.

While speaking of the suggested institution of a national system of scholarships in aid of Muhammadan education, I cannot help noticing with great satisfaction the results which have ensued in the Punjab in consequence of the institution by Government of Jubilee Scholarships for the benefit of Muhammadan students. Before those scholarships were established in 1887, high education among Muhammadans was in a most backward state, and I think I am right in saying that it is mainly owing to these scholarships that during the last twenty years collegiate education has made rapid strides among Muhammadans in the Punjab. If in the Bombay Presidency, and especially in the Province of Sind, the efforts of Muhammadans to better their education were supplemented by the creation of a reasonable number of Government scholarships, tenable in secondary schools and colleges for the exclusive benefit of Muhammadan students, I see no reason why a more cheerful day should not dawn in this Presidency, as in the Punjab, for Muhammadans, and why, as a consequence, some of the administrative difficulties of the Government should not be materially lightened.

Mr. Giles has been good enough to refer in terms of eulogy to our national institution, the M.A.O. College at Aligarh.

That institution was established, as Mr. Giles is probably well aware, to serve as a special means to a special end, and its establishment has not only stimulated educational enterprise among Muhammadans but it has also breathed a new spirit into the Muhammadan community in this country. That great Muhammadan educationalist, the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, after a profound study of the needs of the Indian Musalmans, deemed it necessary to start the Muhammadan College at Aligarh with a view to teaching the Muhammadans practical lessons in the high virtues of national self-help and self-reliance, as also to provide for them a fountain-head from which intellectual and moral currents might flow to resuscitate the community and infuse sap and vigour into all its members. That object has in part been accomplished ; and I certainly think that, but for the establishment and the expansion of the Aligarh movement, higher education among Muhammadans would almost have been unknown down to this day, and we would not have been sitting in Conference this afternoon to deliberate over the educational needs of our brethren in this part of the country.

I cannot conclude these few observations without asking the members of this Conference to take to heart the kindly advice of Mr. Giles, that action is better than words, for I am at one with him in thinking that unless we follow our deliberations with proper action in the various provinces from which we have come and especially in Sind, we shall have met here in vain. Our resolutions and speeches will be perfectly useless and a mere waste of time unless we earnestly nerve ourselves to practical efforts to promote our educational well-being ; and I sincerely hope that as supplying a kindly inducement in that direction Mr. Giles's words will not be lost upon you. In conclusion, both on your behalf and my own, I again tender our very best thanks to Mr. Giles for the honour he has done us in coming to this Conference and in affording us an opportunity of benefiting by his valuable advice and guidance.

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RELATIONS BETWEEN ANGLO-INDIANS AND INDIANS

ONE great problem with which British India will find itself confronted at no distant date, and upon the right solution of which will depend, in no small measure, the future well-being of this country, will be how to promote friendly intercourse between Europeans and Indians with a view to bringing the two races closer together, as far as possible, on a common platform of identical interests and aims and of practical co-operation in furthering the great cause of Indian advancement. Recent events have unfortunately accentuated the divergence of opinion upon certain administrative questions which exists between the vast majority of Europeans and a predominant section of educated Indians, with the result that many of the misunderstandings already existing between the English rulers and the progressive classes of the people, consequent upon marked differences of race, religion, language, usage, and sentiment, have deepened, and the social gulf between the two communities has become wider than ever. Thoughtful men on both sides who have the real welfare of the country at heart are agreed that the existing tension of feeling between the two peoples is deplorable, and that unless effective steps are taken to place their social relations upon a better footing by removing such causes of misapprehension as operate to keep alive racial and the consequent antagonism of sentiment and purpose, the material and moral progress of India will be seriously retarded, and for a long time to come Indians will fail to secure their rightful place in the family of nations. It also appears to be conce-

* Reprinted from *The Hindustan Review*, Feb., 1908.

ded on both sides that, though for some time past, owing mainly to temporary or local causes, the two communities have been drifting further and further away from common social aims, yet the creation of an improved social feeling founded upon a better understanding between them is well within the sphere of practical action.

With a view to securing this most desirable object, not long ago the Lord Bishop of Lahore addressed a thoughtful letter to the Lahore daily, in which while protesting against the use of strong and disparaging language by writers in the Anglo-Indian press in respect of educated Indians, he nobly pleaded in favour of the assiduous cultivation by Europeans in India of friendly feelings towards that growing class of Indian gentlemen who are fitted by education, social position, and moral culture to discharge the duties of a citizen of the British Empire. The Bishop's letter led to an interesting and suggestive discussion in some of the prominent organs of public opinion on the general subject of the social relations between Europeans and Indians, and I availed myself of the opportunity thus afforded me of briefly expressing in the columns of the Lahore paper my views on one or two phases of the social problem, at the same time reserving for a future occasion fuller consideration of the practical aspects of it from an Indian standpoint. By the courtesy of the learned editor of this review, I am now enabled to contribute a few observations to a discussion of that part of the subject; and I sincerely trust that such of our public men as are more competent to form a correct opinion on it, and can speak with greater authority, will not feel indisposed to continue the discussion so as to help in the solution of a question, the supreme importance of which at the present stage of our social and political evolution it is impossible to over-estimate.

I have always felt that in the true interests of both the great communities, whom Providence has brought together on the common platform of a great political partnership to co-operate with each other in the fulfilment of a high

destiny for the good of mankind, it is of sovereign importance that their social relations be marked by mutual friendliness and sympathy, and that in all their vast and varied civic dealings, the growing complexity of which is an essential concomitant of an advancing civilization, they should eargerly cultivate and spontaneously practise a large-hearted toleration and a genuine respect for each other's modes of thought, current beliefs, usages, and institutions. At the same time, it seems to me that no true intercourse between Europeans and Indians is possible in this country unless both classes realise and candidly admit the indispensable limitations which the idiosyncrasies of each impose upon that intercourse, and I believe that half the difficulty of the situation would be solved if such an initial recognition were always to guide and qualify the demand which each community can in practice make for social concessions from the other. That there are well-defined limits within which only social intercourse is practicable between the two communities will be readily conceded by those who in their own social circles have had experience, both on private and public occasions, of the potent influence which time-honoured conventions, inherited prejudices, national habits, and prevailing modes of thought in an age or country exercise on all classes of the people in all stages of social evolution. In this country that influence is greatly strenghthened, so far as our intercourse with Englishmen is concerned, by ineffaceable diversities of race, creed, and colour, supplemented by certain fundamental differences of thought and behaviour created by political relations of a peculiar character, which necessarily determine the direction in which the main currents of our feelings and desires spontaneously flow. It is manifest, therefore, that both Europeans and Indians who are in the least desirous of promoting the cause of friendly intercourse between the two peoples should be prepared to respect and make large allowances for each other's racial idiosyncrasies and inveterate social habits, and should seek to enjoy the amenities of social life in an atmosphere of mutual con-

cessions. For the accepted standards of social ethics in the East are, and have been for countless generations past, different from those which prevail in the West; and it is too much to expect either that the Indian will soon outgrow or wholly discard such of his old-world usages and institutions as jar upon the European, or that the latter will within a measurable distance of time be so far influenced by his new habitat as to renounce his racial peculiarities, national instincts, and social conventions which have come down to him from his forefathers. It is to this great difference, brought about by causes which have continually operated through long centuries, that the poet refers in the well-known couplet—

> East is East and West is West,
> And never the twain shall meet.

That "the twain shall never meet" is, I sincerely trust, a cramped view of the great potentialities of human progress towards common ideals, but that they can easily meet and commingle and be blended into a homogeneous social group, is a hope which appears to be very difficult of realisation. The East must nerve itself to a supreme effort of the will to find out the way, and by casting off the wearisome load of its dead excrescences must raise itself to a higher plane of existence. The West must come down a little from its high pedestal of political superiority, and by learning to appreciate the good points which exist in the self-contained social organisation of the meditative East, must bring itself to accept them as serviceable institutions in practical life. Thus only will they know each other in this country as it has been ordained that they should, and thus only will the European and the Indian become true helpmates and fellow-workers in the field of human advancement.

Having thus cleared the ground, I shall now proceed to set down a few observations as to the best way of bringing about a social *rapprochement* between the two communities. Subject to the limitations I have already pointed out, the very first desideratum which in this con-

nection should, I think, be recognised by both is that each class must be prepared to learn much of the other that it thinks it knows but which it does not really know at all, and to unlearn much that it has learned from ill-informed or contaminated sources. Once this principle is accepted on both sides, and the probability of error in regard to each other's real feelings, points of view, and ruling motives, recognised—for the simple reason that peculiarities of racial temper and training, and of mental and moral bias, continually bring into existence a much larger number of points of difference than of contact between the two communities —much of the misunderstanding which at present hinders or mars their social intercourse will soon disappear. For the practical enforcement of this principle I know of no method more effectively useful than that Europeans and Indians should cultivate a real acquaintance with each other's languages. The literature of a people is a faithful mirror of its short-comings and of its achievements, in which are reflected the lineaments of racial face and form, as it were, which the most accurate painter's brush cannot portray. You cannot know a people well without knowing their peculiar manners, customs, prejudices, superstitions, and predominating modes of thought and action—in fact, the whole mass of their ruling ideas and emotions which traverse the diapason of their corporate existence as a distinct section of human society. And you cannot know these ideas and feelings as they should be known without knowing the literature in which they are enshrined, in which you can trace their genesis and growth, and in which they find their truest expression. In this respect Indians enjoy a distinct advantage over Europeans. Be the determining cause whatever it may, the fact remains that Indians have met their European masters half-way by studying their language and literature so closely that some of the great names which are justly the pride of Englishmen are household words with the literary classes in India, and it is mainly the writings of great English thinkers which are inspiring educated Indians with stirring ideas and supply-

ing them with hitherto unknown springs of action. The inevitable result is that, under normal conditions of life, the Indian who is educated upon Western lines comes to appreciate at its true value the intellectual and moral side of English literature, and to entertain a feeling of respect for the nation which has produced so many great leaders of human thought. If Englishmen in India were similarly to study and take a real scholarly interest in the languages and literature of Hindus and Muhammadans, I have no doubt that in course of time they would acquire a clear insight into our fundamental ideas, feelings, tastes, hopes, and aspirations, and would learn to admire and value the good points in Eastern character and institutions. Both the communities would then be in a far better position than they are at present to know and understand each other in all matters which lie at the root of their mutual relations in this country. There would then be much less chance than has hitherto been the case of that precipitate misconception of motives, nervous distrust of intentions, and ever-ready proneness towards contraction of sympathy and good-will which have lately characterised some of the dealings between them, and which are great obstacles in the path of a mutually helpful advance. The English officials are no doubt already hardworked, and most of them would plead want of leisure as an excuse for not studying Indian languages and literature. But a very heavy responsibility lies on their shoulders in this respect, and if they are convinced that their lack of acquaintance with Eastern stores of knowledge precludes their having a real access to the inner workings of the Indian heart and mind, and thereby adds to the enormous difficulties of administrative work in India, they would be guilty of a dereliction of duty did they not qualify for the necessities of the situation. Moreover, in large towns throughout the country there is a non-official European class which is daily increasing in numbers and growing in importance, and there is no good reason why that class should not take the initiative in this direction and supply the little leaven which in time might leaven the whole lump. The

number of Europeans, whether officials or non-officials, who thoroughly know, for instance, the Hindustani language and literature is infinitesimally small, and yet few Europeans will be found bold enough to deny that a good knowledge of Hindustani, which is the real *lingua franca* of our country, will enable any one of them to understand the daily life and work of the Indian Muhammadans and of the vast majority of the Hindus far better than the study of any number of district gazetteers and statistical statements compiled in the English language. It is impossible to govern a people in a spirit of real sympathy without reaching their heart, and you cannot reach the heart without fully understanding and appreciating the language of their inborn feelings and affections, of their fears and hopes.

Another way of promoting friendly intercourse between Europeans and Indians is that the former, being the ruling class and being naturally more reserved in disposition and behaviour, should adopt some practical steps to permit the latter to share with them, so far as may be, the amenities of social life. Unless the leading men on both sides come frequently in contact with one another under conditions which give full and free scope for the display of genuine social feeling and broad human sympathies that lie quite outside the narrow circle of cast-iron formalities and rigid regulations, the object in view will not be attained. Conversaziones, soirees, and garden parties are good in their own way and have their own uses, but these have, I am afraid, failed, even when held under the auspices of the Associations established expressly for the purpose, to bring the two communities together in a common bond of social harmony. The vital need of the day is that educated Indians should be made to feel at home by the side of Europeans, and this end can only be achieved by the latter admitting Indian gentlemen of respectability and position to their own clubs, inviting them to private dinner parties, and generally introducing them into the inner circle of European social life. This should of course be done gradually and cautiously, and under all the limitations which the rules of

social decorum and an enlightened sense of honourable scruples might impose. Such necessary limitations cannot and will not be resented by cultured Indians, who are fully prepared to recognise that as there exists a wide gulf of distinctive social etiquette between the two communities, each must submit, in a large measure, to most of the standards prescribed by the long-established institutions of the other in order to arrive at workable harmony of social sentiment and opinion. If both classes start from this basis, there should not, I think, be much difficulty in making a practical beginning in the direction I have just indicated. I know that there is a strong feeling among a certain class of Europeans against the admission of Indians, however well educated and even of the highest social position, to their clubs, and that the existence of this feeling will for a long time to come militate against the success of any steps which may be adopted to extend the benefits of European club-life to select Indians. But it is just because of the existence of this social prejudice, and because of its pernicious influence on our mutual relations, that there is urgent need of an initiative in this matter being taken by those whose position, precept, and example carry great weight with the Anglo-Indian community. Social prejudices are frequently as hard to die as religious prejudices but as cultured classes in civilized communities have learned to discard the latter, there is little reason why English gentlemen in India, who are leading the vanguard of the progressive movement in the East, should not muster sufficient moral courage to be able to outgrow the former. If, however, it is found difficult for the present to admit select Indians to existing European clubs, a movement may well be set on foot, under the leadership mainly of European high officials, to establish in a few large towns mixed Anglo-Indian clubs, where leading men of the two communities may meet in familiar, friendly intercourse on terms of practical equality. The beginnings of every large movement are comparatively difficult, especially when deep-rooted prejudices founded upon human sentiment have to be overcome; but if the initiative is taken in

this matter by highly-placed Europeans in a spirit of earnestness and practical sympathy, and not merely with a view to capturing popular imagination for the movement, there need be no reason to despair of good results. The liberalizing tendencies and the necessities of the age are, and will be, on the side of such a movement, and the existing forces of opposition may, with the use of a little tact and moderation, be gradually won over to its support. Side by side with the progress of this large movement might proceed the cultivation of intimate relations between individuals in private drawing-rooms and at the common dining-table, and I have no doubt that if in these respects Europeans made friendly advances towards educated Indians, the latter would appreciate and reciprocate their courtesies and hospitalities in a most cordial manner, and the effect on the relations of the two classes would be of the best. It is true that most Hindus have religious scruples against sitting down to a meal with a European, but the Muhammadans, whose scriptures in express terms permit them to dine with Christians, have no such prejudices, and a beginning may well be made in the direction indicated in co-operation with them. Again, England-returned Indians, be they Hindus or Muhammadans, would be only too ready to assist in the success of such a movement, and the practical value of their assistance can hardly be over-estimated. In fact, I think Indian gentlemen of this class are a ready-made and natural link between Englishmen and their countrymen, and the sooner this link is utilised to cement the two communities in bonds of mutual respect and attachment, the better for all concerned. It is a matter for sincere regret that in some parts of the country the relations between England-returned Indians and European officials are not what they should be. This, I apprehend, is in consequence, on the one hand, of the assumption of an attitude of unrestrained freedom and obtrusiveness indicative of ill-digested notions of social etiquette and of disregard of the necessary elements of the Anglo-Indian situation, and on the other hand, of the irritating exhibition of a feeling of racial superiority and of a too

manifest desire to minimise the importance of Western education and of ideas of self-respect and personal independence which that education inevitably engenders in the Indian mind. Neither of these attitudes is justifiable, and they must be greatly modified before we can hope to attain even partially a desirable harmony of feeling and aim in the difficult work of achieving the moral and material progress of India.

It has often been said by Anglo-Indian writers that the seclusion and backwardness of the Indian women constitute the greatest obstacle to the success of social intercourse between Europeans and Indians. The argument is that there can be no friendly intercourse between them mainly because ladies play an indispensable part in European social life—are in fact its heart and soul ; that Indians cannot, therefore, move in European society without being introduced to European ladies ; that this is impossible, and obviously objectionable on the principle of want of reciprocity, unless European gentlemen can similarly be introduced to Indian ladies and can mix freely with them ; that as Indian ladies are by reason of their social and educational conditions incapable of extending this privilege to Europeans, the latter cannot be expected to go out of their way to throw open their drawing-rooms and clubs to Indian gentlemen. It must be conceded at once that this argument is not without force, but in view of the peculiar position which Europeans occupy in this country, and of the heavy responsibility which from moral and political considerations rests upon their shoulders, they are not justified in thus entrenching themselves behind a social dilemma. This is not the first time in the political history of India when the position of women has created difficulties in the solution of Indian problems, but these have been solved before this by thoughtful men who recognise the great importance of the moral duty of facing new difficulties as they arise along the course of human evolution. Muhammadans, who strictly observe the *pardah* system, have always mixed very freely with Hindus, whose *shastras* do not

enjoin absolute seclusion of women, and with Parsis who do not observe *purdah* at all. It is true that the case of these communities is not wholly parallel to that under discussion, but a way out of the difficulty may surely be found. Either Indian gentlemen may not be introduced to European ladies in private houses, which is very frequently done at present in cases where Indians are on visiting terms with their European friends, or mixed social clubs may be established, with the membership limited to the stern sex.

I cannot close this article without saying a few words of advice and of warning to my countrymen on the subject. It is, in my humble judgment, essential to our future well-being that in the words of the Lord Bishop of Lahore, "the two races should settle down harmoniously and with mutual respect to their work in the land." That work is both delicate and onerous, and requires for its due execution a rare combination of good temper, foresight, tact, sympathy, and toleration, such as can only be acquired by a people circumstanced as we are by a prodigious expenditure of individual effort and national will-power of the highest type. The political guidance under which we have been placed by the decree of an inscrutable Providence has in it a profound meaning, and that meaning we can only realise by earnestly endeavouring to bring predominant tendencies of our thought and feeling into line with the beneficent forces of that guidance. Though both Hindus and Muhammadans have had a great past, on the glories of which they may fitly dwell, their present is by no means a period to be proud of, and their future will depend much upon the extent to which the interests and privileges of the West can insensibly blend with the hopes and ambitions of the East. The right and speedy solution of the social problem in India is a paramount necessity of the day, and though the initiative in this matter must be taken by the dominant partner in the political concern, our share in the full realisation of the great idea is by no means either humble or unimportant. Our responsibility is great because our stake in the country is enormous. We must do our part of the duty by

meeting the Europeans more than half-way ; we must honestly try to discard our prejudices, our false sentiments, our little conceits, our selfish trivialities, our innumerable fetishes of usage and custom ; in short, we must equip ourselves fully with the moral and intellectual apparatus essential to all enlightened progress on the most approved modern lines. If, on the contrary, we cultivate a spirit of needless antagonism to European ideas and feelings, show petulant impatience under healthy social restraints, follow the dictates of shallow flippancy and rebellious impertinence, and lay to our souls the flattering unction of a self-complacent independence and of passive resistance to the influence and methods of the West, we may wake up one day to witness the destruction of some of our cherished hopes and the grievous mutilation of some invaluable ideals of enlightened advance.

20

THE JUDGEMENT ON PRE-EMPTION

*(90 P.R. 1909)**

IN 1904-5 the Honorable Mian Muhammad Shah Din, as a member of the Punjab Legislative Council, took an active part in the framing of the Punjab Pre-emption Act of 1905, and then in 1908 as a Judge of the Punjab Chief Court, he helped to interpret and implement the law in 25 P.R. 1908 and particularly through his famous and remarkable Judgement in 90 P.R. 1909. (Punjab Record 1909).

Yet the principle so clearly enunciated by him was not finally accepted till after a long legal battle. In fact, his judgement of 1908 was virtually overruled in 1924 in 5 Lahore 486 and later in 11 Lahore 128, in which it was held that in a suit to pre-empt, the vendor at the date of the sale in dispute had an equal status with the pre-emptor, derived by reason of his ownership of other immovable property, thus defeating the pre-emptor's right even though subsequent to the sale he lost in another pre-emption suit the property by virtue of the ownership of which he claimed that status.

But Mr. Justice Shah Din's stand was amply justified and his view of the law fully vindicated by the intervention of the Legislature later on, which added a new section 28A to the Pre-emption Act by Act II of 1928, which laid down that such a plea shall not be open to the vendor. The new section (28A) in fact restored the law to the same position as it occupied when 25 P.R. 1908 was decided by Mr. Justice

* Pre-emption means the right of a person or persons to buy a certain property before and in preference to others. It thus practically becomes the duty of an owner of immovable property to offer it to the person or persons in whom the right of pre-emption inheres.



JUDGES AND REGISTRAR OF CHIEF COURT, PUNJAB
Group taken on January 12, 1914 on the eve of the retirement of Sir A. Reid.
Mian Shah Din is sitting first on right.

Shah Din. Here was a case of what has been aptly called "Judicial Legislation," which thus clarified the law, by emphasizing its true import. In this connection, it is interesting to note that at one time all the judges of the Punjab Chief Court, and later of the Lahore High Court with the exception of Mr. Justice Shah Din were unanimous in holding that the right of pre-emption was a very insidious right, which constituted an invasion of the principle of free contract, and some judges went to the length of describing it as a right of a "piratical" nature (91 P.R. 1909). Mr. Justice Shah Din, however, stuck to his guns, and both he and their Lordships of the Privy Council pointed out that "rights of pre-emption when they exist are valuable rights" (37 Allahabad 129—Nov. 1914), and so long as they continue to bear the imprimatur of legislative sanction, they must be scrupulously respected by the courts (90 P.R. 1909 page 432 per Shah Din J.).

Thus this well-known, important and learned judgement of Mr. Justice Shah Din laid down a clear principle, and as such acted as a landmark in respect of the right of pre-emption in the Punjab. His decision, which besides being based on a correct interpretation of the law of pre-emption as prevailing in the Punjab, constituted, on the liberal front, a strong defence of this custom based on Muslim Law which protected the integrity of village communities and the sanctity and privacy of family life against the inroads and depredations of modern notions of free contract and unrestricted sale.

Mr. Justice Shah Din's judgement covers about 55 pages of the Punjab Record (of 1909) and contains approximately 30,000 words, some noteworthy extracts from which are given below.

It is a part of a Full Bench judgement which in all covers 94 pages. A Division Bench referred the case to a Full Bench and the Full Bench in turn further referred it to the Full Court.

It was held by the Full Court (consisting of Clark, C. J., Reid, Robertson, Kensington, Rattigan and Shah Din—

Robertson and Rattigan dissenting) that where two houses which adjoin each other are sold jointly and the owner of the adjoining house sues for pre-emption in respect of one of the two houses sold to which his right extends, the vendee is not entitled to say that by reason of his having under the sale-deed become owner of the other house, he stands on an equal footing with the plaintiff (both being owners of adjoining houses), and that the plaintiff cannot, therefore, pre-empt the house adjoining his own.

Mr. Justice Shah Din in his comprehensive and lucid judgement after regretting that there should be a difference of opinion among the judges writes as follows :—

"As the question referred is one of great importance, an affirmative answer to which will, in my humble opinion, (by depriving the pre-emptor of his superior right), tend seriously to affect the institution of pre-emption in this province, and as I cannot without disrespect to the learned judge (Mr. Justice Rattigan) with whom I have the misfortune to disagree answer that question in the negative without setting out the grounds for doing so, I may perhaps be excused from recording what may at first sight appear to be rather a lengthy judgement.

"The question referred to is whether, under the circumstances stated, the vendee X is entitled to say in answer to claims of pre-emptor Z, that by reason of his (X) having under a sale-deed become owner of house A, he stands on an equal footing with Z as regards house B, so that Z cannot pre-empt house B which adjoins Z's house C.

"The real controversy, as is clear from my learned brother's judgement, centres round the nature and incidents of the right of pre-emption and the admitted importance of the point thus raised renders it imperatively necessary to enter into a discussion of it in some detail.

"It becomes necessary, therefore, to ascertain what the precise nature and origin of a right of pre-emption is in this Provision, and for this purpose it appears to be desirable to discuss the question with reference to (1) custom (2) satutory enactments and (3) Muhammadan Law.

"In the present case the diversity of opinion was mainly due to the fact that the distinction between a primary and antecedent right and a secondary or remedial right, in its application to the institution of pre-emption, has not been kept in view. This distinction is fully recognized in jurisprudence and has always to be borne in mind as to the nature and operation of any given legal right." (Justice Shah Din here quotes from Austin and Holland's *Jurisprudence*, and also from Sir William Rattigan's *Science of Jurisprudence.)*

"The totality of a right at rest, as contradistinguished from a right in motion," comprises its twofold aspect as a primary and as a secondary right, and requires to be studied, as explained by Holland, with reference to its "orbit" and its "infringement." By its "orbit" is meant the sum or extent of the advantages which are conferred by its enjoyment, and this is what constitutes a primary right. By its "infringement" is meant an act, omission or forbearance which interferes with the enjoyment of those advantages, and this act, omission or forbearance, gives rise to a secondary right.

"The right of pre-emption, like other rights, has to be regarded in a twofold aspect (1) as a primary or antecedent right and (2) as a secondary or remedial right. Viewed as an antecedent right, it exists before and independently of any wrongful act or omission, that is to say it entitles the person of inherence in preference to a third person or a class of persons, to an offer of sale of the property, which is the object of the right, by the person of incidence, upon whom a corresponding primary duty to make such offer is laid. Viewed as a remedial right, it comes into existence after the primary right has been infringed by a sale of the property in question being made by the person of incidence to such third person or class of persons, and its purpose is the removal of the injury complained of by the substitution of the person of inherence for the vendee or vendees who aided in the infringement of the primary right.

"An unauthorized sale, therefore, being a violation of the

primary right of pre-emption can only give rise to the secondary right of pre-emption, and because this secondary right does not, as it cannot, come into existence before a sale to a person with an inferior right, it is, in my humble judgment, incorrect to say that the primary right of pre-emption does not exist before the sale in question.

"The infraction of a right necessarily preseupposes that the right exists before and independently of such infraction. And it is difficult to realize how the very infraction of the right can confer upon a person the right which is said to be violated.

"To ascertain the exact nature of the primary right of pre-emption, we must have recourse to custom, as embodied in village and tribal records known as *Wajib-ur-Arz* and *Rivaj-i-Am*, and the respective sections 13, 14 and 15 of the Punjab Laws Act, and sections 16 and 17 of the Punjab Pre-emption Act and to the analogous provisions of Muhammadan Law. These I shall now proceed to consider in some detail.

"The right of pre-emption being connected with the law of property, it is impossible to understand its true nature and origin without reference to the early history of property in land in this province ; in other words, without reference to the history of the genesis and growth of village communities which are a prominent feature of land tenure in this part of the country. As Sir Henry Maine has observed in the "Early History of Institutions," "the collective ownership of the soil by groups of men either in fact united by blood relationship or assuming that they are so united is now entitled to take rank as an ascertained primitive phenomenon," and it has been truly remarked that Punjab affords a conspicuous instance of the general truth of this observation.

"In this province joint ownership preceded by long steps the institution of separate ownership as known in modern times, the tribal feeling against any outside influences being very strong . . . . In the course of time the inevitable process of tribal disintegration gave rise to village communities within

the tribe, which shared characteristics of the tribe, and these in turn split up into joint families. . . .The transition from joint ownership of land to individual property is clearly indicated by the three dominant forms of land tenure, which exist side by side up to the present moment in the Punjab, viz, zamindari, pattidari and bhayachara. . . .Thus separate ownership is gradually developed. . . .

The institution of the right of pre-emption as known to us in the Punjab is intimately associated with the constitution of the village communities in its graduated form as explained above. . . .The order in which according to the entry in a typical *Wajib-ur-Arz* or *Rivaj-i-Am* the right of pre-emption rests in the members of a village proprietary body. . . .has been reproduced in section 12 of Punjab Pre-emption Act." "It seems to me, therefore, that in its nature and origin the right of pre-emption is nothing more or less than a right conferred upon and exercisable by each member of the proprietary group, primarily with the object of preserving the integrity of the village community by preventing any interference with the course of devolution of land in strict conformity with customary rules of inheritance". . . .

It is clear that "the Austinian conception of ownership was absolutely unknown in the early stages of the evolution of village communities" . . . .In the Punjab the free disposition of property passed through "three stages". . . .In the last stage a free power of disposition without necessity is recognized, but it is always subject to the important qualification that, before the disposition is made, the owner is bound to make an offer of the land sought to be alienated to a certain class of persons in a defined order. . . .The owner is thus under an obligation of a definite character to those persons to whom the aforesaid offer has to be made. . . .The primary right of pre-emption. . . .has its roots. . . .in one common subsoil of social notions having for their object the preservation of tribal or communal unity by scrupulously maintaining in all their strength the original bonds between proprietary rights and kinship in blood."

Mr. Justice Shah Din then refers in support of his view to

some Full Bench rulings of the Punjab Chief Court in which, among others, Sir Meredyth Plowden explains (in 98 P.R. 1894) "the nature of the right of pre-emption in a judgement which for power of analysis and lucidity of exposition has scarcely been surpassed." "Everone of the co-sharers is under obligation to all the rest to abstain from selling to a stranger irrespective of their assent". . . .These rules of Customary Law become clear when we refer to *Haq-i-Shufa* in *Wajib-ul-Arz* and *Rivaj-i-Am* of the Punjab villages, in which the right of pre-emption is spoken of as existing prior to a sale. . . .Subsequently, Statute Law has given sanction of the Legislature to this right of pre-emption.

The Provisions of the Punjab Laws Act (1872), the Punjab Pre-emption Act (1905), the Punjab Tenancy Act and the Punjab Land Revenue Act all show that the primary or antecedent right of pre-emption exists before and independent of the actual sale and that it inheres in a determinate person, and it is only when this right is infringed that the second right of redress arises. . . . . ."

Having thus far discussed the local customs and laws, Mr. Justice Shah Din goes on to refer to analogous provision of pre-emption in Roman Law, and to point out the similarity, despite certain differences, between the Punjab custom of pre-emption and Muhammadan Law. . . .Muhammadan Law represents a later evolution than Customary Law. The right of pre-emption under Muhammadan Law has been very ably discussed by that most eminent Judge Mr. Justice Mahmood in one of his luminous judgements in the well-known F. B. case of Govind Dayal v. Inayat Ullah (7 Allahabad, p. 775) :—"The right of pre-emption," he says, "is not a right of repurchase either from the vendor or the vendee, involving any new contract of sale, but it is simply a right of substitution, entitling the pre-emptor by reason of a legal incident to which the sale itself was subject to stand in the shoes of the vendee."

So in Muhammadan Law and in the Punjab custom this right of pre-emption "exists without being exercised". . . . . It follows, therefore (argues Mr. Justice Shah Din) that

a right of pre-emption is as definite and palpable a right as any other legal right, though it is distinguishable from many other legal rights in its peculiar characteristics.... So wherever in a village, as also in a town, in which the custom of pre-emption is said to exist in respect of a particular description of property, it always exists before sale and inheres in some determinate person or persons, and is available against another determinate person or persons.

"Here it may be of some interest to note that in the case 37 Allahabad 129, their Lordships of the Privy Council, (which included Mr. Ameer Ali) expressed their opinion, on appeal (in Oct. & Nov. 1914) that "pre-emption in village communities in British India had its origin in the Muhammadan Law as to pre-emption, and was apparently unknown in India before the time of Mughal rulers.

"In the latest Pakistan commentary on the Punjab Pre-emption Act (revised by Sirdar Muhammad Iqbal in 1958), it has been pointed out that the Punjab courts have held that in the towns of this province the pre-emption law owes its origin to Muhammadan influences, but as regards agricultural and village immovable property, so far as the Punjab is concerned, it is primarily a village institution, intimately connected with the origin and development of village communities. It is noteworthy that the Lahore High Court in a recent Full Bench judgement (P.L.D. 1960 (V.P.) Lahore 900) in Allah Dad and another v. Hukam Dad and others, decided on 16th May, 1960, has fully supported the view of pre-emption as expounded by Justice Shah Din in 90 P.R. 1909. His judgment has been referred to more than once in the Full Bench pronouncement. The Chief Justice Mr. M. R. Kayani writes :— "The argument as to the exclusion of strangers appears to me to be well-founded. In the judgement of Shah Din J. in Amir Chand v. Chuni Lal (90 P.R. 1909) to which I have already referred, where the object of pre-emption according to Muslim Law is stated to be the prevention of inconvenience arising from the introduction of strangers, the object according to customary law is stated to be the preservation of the pre-emptor's right, as

a member of landowning group, to prevent the vendor from disturbing the normal course of devolution and thereby the integrity of the village community. In both cases, therefore, the ultimate object is to exclude strangers, and in both cases strangers are inconvenient. It is idle to deny it as a guiding principle, because that is the express or implied object of pre-emption according to both systems."

Reverting to Mr. Justice Shah Din's judgement, we find that he concludes it in the following words :—

"The pre-emptor in this case does not so much appeal, as my learned brother (Mr. Justice Rattigan) thinks, to the argument at *inconvenienti* in support of his right as he points out the *reductio ad absurdam*, which would inevitably be reached if the vendee's argument were pushed to its logical conclusions. One anomalous result of that argument is clear. Through no fault of his own the pre-emptor is, according to the vendee's contention, fixed upon the horns of a dilemma ; he cannot pre-empt both the houses A and B, because his right extends only to the house B ; and he can not pre-empt house B, because the vendee having purchased house A, and become owner of it simultaneously with house B, occupies at the time of sale a position of equality with the pre-emptor *qua* that latter house. The extraordinary consequences of this argument, which only the subtle mind of a lawyer can contemplate with equanimity, will be that whenever in a town more houses than one are sold to one person under one sale-deed, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred there will be no right of pre-emption on the ground of vicinage in respect of any of those houses.

"I can scarcely believe that this could be the state of law on the subject, and I am glad to know that the majority of my learned colleagues think that the law is not what the vendee's counsel represents it to be.

"As for the sanctity and freedom of the contract of sale, I am as much a respecter of it as any other judge, but those of us who are trained in the English notions of Contract Law will do well to remember that those notions cannot be imported into the customary rules that prevail in this pro-

vince without seriously jeopardising long-established and well-recognized institutions of vital importance. Pre-emption is one of these institutions, and as it has its roots in the early stages of the development of the property in land and is intimately associated with social sentiments which still retain something of their original vigour, it must, at least so long as it continues to bear the *imprimatur* of legislative sanction, be scrupulously respected by our courts of law."

"I have given my most anxious consideration to the question referred to the Full Court and have tried as best I could to look at it from the point of view of my brother Rattigan, but I find it impossible to accept the opinion which he has supported with so much learning, and I greatly regret that I am constrained to differ from him. And in so differing from him I have felt called upon, out of profound respect for his views, to state my reasons in some detail, and this constitutes my principal excuse for making this rather lengthy judgement. Agreeing with the learned Chief Judge, I would answer this reference in the negative."

21

SPEECH AT GOVERNMENT COLLEGE, LAHORE

(Sports Prize Distribution 1911 ?)

Gentlemen,

WHEN your learned Principal, Mr. Robson, asked me the other day to distribute prizes to the successful competitors in your College athletics, it was not without some hesitation that I accepted his very kind invitation. I told him that as I had never been an athlete myself, I hardly thought I would be a suitable person to preside on an occasion like this ; that, in fact, I would be a round ball in a square hole and would ill harmonize with my surroundings. Mr. Robson, however, would not accept a refusal and reminded me of the obligations that, as an old student of this College, I owed to my *alma mater*. The existence of those obligations I could not bring myself to deny, and I had perforce to yield. It is therefore in recognition of my collegiate relations with you that I am here this evening, and I need hardly say how extremely gratifying it is to me to be surrounded by the scenes of my student days once more.

It is now very nearly 24 years since I left this College, and during that period successive classes of students have come and gone creating an atmosphere of improved intellectual and moral ideas which now happily surrounds the undergraduates of this progressive institution. The oldest person among you was not born when I joined this College; and all of you will no doubt be much gratified to know that your mental and physical needs are being studied and provided for much more closely and liberally now than was the case in my own time. In the early eighties (for that is the time I am speaking of) the undergraduates had not the

good fortune to have as an appanage of this College a well equipped Gymnasium such as the one you have today ; and most of us youngsters in those semi-barbarous times used to walk listlessly or frisk about in the garden to the south of the Clock Tower, with no higher object than to pass our leisure moments as best we could.

The times have now changed ; and the College authorities are, here as elsewhere, keenly alive to the imperative necessity of promoting the physical welfare of the students equally with their mental training. A *mens sana in corpore sano* is one of the greatest blessings. I was almost going to say the greatest blessing—which a man can enjoy in this world ; and this maxim is of even greater importance in the case of a young student than in that of a grown-up man whose brain is not subject to a continuous mental strain. The inexorable conditions of modern progress require a harmonious development of physical and mental powers, which lies at the root of all true moral equilibrium ; and this cannot be secured without constant attention being paid by the student and his teacher to the need of his having a sound mind in a sound body.

I think it is Herbert Spencer who says somewhere that "the first duty of man is to be a good animal" ; and I sincerely hope I shall not be held guilty of using discourteous language when I say that I am very glad indeed that I see among you so many good animals this evening. A gigantic intellect seldom dwells in a dwarfed body ; and physical degeneracy is oftentimes the precursor of a disordered brain. In these days of keen intellectual competition the judicious selection of intervals of mental relaxation to be filled with a graduated course of athletic exercises is a supreme necessity of student life ; and I hope all of you will continue to recognise its sovereign importance. At the same time, each of you must guard himself against acting as though athletics and sports and games were the highest end of existence, for a student must always apply himself to his studies with great diligence, remembering the wise aphorism "much bending breaks the bow, much unbending

the mind" ! Gentlemen, I heartily congratulate the fortunate recipients of the prizes on their strong sinew and muscle, and I trust that those of you who have been unable to enter the circle of the privileged few may have better luck next year.

21

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the 27th session of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference held at Agra on 26—28 December, 1913.

Preliminary remarks

Gentlemen,

IN the Christmas week of 1894, this day ninteen years ago, I had the honour to preside at the ninth session of this Conference, which was held in the Strachey Hall of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh. I remember as if it were but yesterday that on that occasion there were gathered together around me some of the best representatives of Muslim culture—amongst others, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the great founder of the Aligarh College, his distinguished son, Mr. Syed Mahmood, that polished courtier and able administrator of Hyderabad, Nawab Muhsin-ul-Mulk, on whose shoulders fell afterwards the mantle of the immortal Syed, that profound scholar, enlightened theologian and impressive orator, Maulana Nazir Ahmad, and that versatile and voluminous writer of Delhi, Maulvi Zakaullah. One after another they have all passed away, leaving behind them a record of work which will ever be cherished by the Indian Musalmans as their most precious inheritance. They were the pioneers of the modern educational movement in Muhammadan India, and to occupy the presidential chair in an assembly containing such illustrious men was a distinction of which any one might well have felt proud. After nineteen years, the united voice of the community has called me again to that high office, and in obedience to your flattering

summons I am here before you to-day. The work that devolves upon the President of this Conference is as difficult as it is responsible ; and I greatly appreciate the honour you have done me in selecting me for its performance. I very much wish that you had entrusted this ask to more capable hands; but as you have honoured me with your confidence, I shall do my very best to deserve the honour ; and I am sure that in the work that lies before me I can count upon your whole-hearted co-operation and support.

Looking backward—1894-1913

Looking back upon the period which has elapsed since I last presided over your deliberations, I notice with feelings of sincere gratification that much progress has been made by Muhammadans in education, and that almost everywhere they have overcome their old prejudice against Western methods of instruction and have begun to show considerable educational enterprise. The period has been, on the whole, one of steady advance from the position they formerly occupied, and they have developed a degree of self-consciousness and a sense of solidarity which are essential to Muslim regeneration. If at times they have, in some parts of the country, made mistakes in their conception of education and in carrying it into execution, or have chafed under the wholesome restraints imposed by prudence and foresight, they have tried afterwards to rectify those mistakes and have appreciated and pursued a saner policy. The Aligarh College, which embodies the educational ideals of its great founder and which may be called our most improved experimental farm in the field of education, has had a chequered history. At one time it seemed as if it would become the storm-centre of the mutual jealousies of the older generation and of the immoderate demands of its youthful population, but wiser counsels prevailed at last and more than one crisis passed away. Our College at Aligarh is, and must ever remain, the central national institution of the Indian Musalmans, and in view of its great traditions and of the immense influence which it has always exercised over all the most

active movements which have arisen in our community, its general condition furnishes perhaps the best index of our moral and intellectual progress throughout the country. The power of Aligarh is great, but its responsibilities are greater ; and I would, therefore, remind its governing body and its students that they will be guilty of betraying a great trust if they depart from the policy and the principles laid down by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan for the guidance of both. Aligarh was intended to turn out the best type of educated Muhammadan—a young man who would possess great intellectual ability and high character, and would combine the pleasing courtesy and polished manners of the East with the ennobling self-respect and sturdy independence of the West—a thoughtful Indian who would conduct himself in private and public life with dignity, self-restraint and an ever-present sense of responsibility, and whose ambition would be to become a useful member of society and a loyal and helpful citizen of the British Empire. These were the ideals placed before the Indian Musalmans by the great Sir Syed ; and their realisation must ever be the aim and object, not merely of the Aligarh College but of all Muslim educational institutions. It is a hopeful sign of the times that in educational matters the policy laid down by Sir Syed still holds the field; and although at times the still small voice of the enlightened conscience of the community may be unheard in the din of warring interests, I earnestly trust that it will ultimately be listened to with due respect, and that the forward movement of the College will receive fresh impetus from the loyal co-operation of the more thoughtful section of the younger generation.

The Muslim University

Gentlemen, one of the most pleasing results of the spread of the Aligarh movement in India was the organised effort recently made by our community to collect funds for the establishment of a Muslim University at Aligarh. The wave of enthusiasm which passed over all classes of Musalmans throughout the length and breadth of the land and the

striking success achieved by the promoters of the University idea under the brilliant leadership of His Highness the Agha Khan are significant proof of the great awakening which has taken place among our people; and this is mainly due to the gradual infiltration of liberal ideas promulgated at Aligarh. These ideas, and the principles underlying them, must be diligently spread among Musalmans and applied to the new order of things which is coming into existence; and you may then be sure that in the domain of education, as also in other fields of activity, our community will come to occupy a position worthy of its traditions and of its numerical strength in the country. With you education is the supreme need of the hour for, remember, that upon the extent to which your community will be educated on modern lines will depend your progress, relatively to the other communities, in all the more important walks of life. A disregard of this truth will assuredly endanger your position in this country.

The Muslim University question has been discussed for the past three years in many of its bearings in all parts of the country; and having regard to the fact that it is under the consideration of certain representative Committees duly empowered to deal with it, I do not feel called upon to say anything special about it on the present occasion. I may, however, be permitted to remark that, after having shown unusually keen interest in it the community seems to have relapsed into something like indifference towards it. I know that this is chiefly due to the fact that momentous events of a most serious character have happened in the Muslim world which have engrossed the attention of the Indian Muhammadans and have placed their scanty resources under a severe strain. But now that the clouds have rolled away and we are in sight of clearer skies, I earnestly beseech you to turn your attention once more to the University question which has become for us a question of sovereign importance. And in this connection may I venture upon a word of advice? It is essential to the right solution of this question that your leading men should bring to bear upon

it their best qualities of head and heart, and it is equally necessary that the rank and file of the community should follow their lead in this matter with confiding loyalty. I very much doubt whether our leaders fully realise the nature and extent of the responsibilities which rest upon their shoulders; they have launched upon an experiment of enormous difficulty with probable consequences of a far-reaching character; and at times it seems as if they were driving the chariot of the Sun with hands unequal to the task. This is borne out by the discussions which have taken place over the University question both in the Muslim press and at the meetings of the Committees that are charged with its detailed consideration, and thoughtful men have often shaken their heads over the results thus far achieved. The grave defect in the general attitude of the Muhammadans towards this question is that almost every one who has subscribed, or even promised to subscribe, to the University funds claims the right to give his opinion as to the constitution of the proposed University and the future management of its affairs without stopping to consider whether he has the necessary capacity to form a right opinion about these matters. People who do not know even the rudiments of the educational problem in India have rushed into print and have expressed opinions on the Muslim University scheme which have staggered men who have received University education themselves and who therefore realise, to some extent, the complicated nature of the great issues involved in the situation. I would earnestly advise the community to leave the consideration and decision of the whole University question in the hands of educational experts—men fully qualified by education and experience to speak on this question with authority—and I would implore those experts to do their work with thoroughness, courage and discrimination. The whole question bristles with difficulties; they must be realised and faced, and fair-seeming generalisations or hasty conclusions must be avoided. My own belief, founded upon a brief experience of the actual working of a University, is that our real difficulties will begin after the

Charter has been granted and the Muslim University has come into existence ; and my fear is that very few of the promoters of the scheme are giving themselves the necessary training to cope with the task that lies before them. The practical training in educational work which the Trustees of the Aligarh College are receiving under present conditions is not the kind of training required for the governing bodies of the proposed University, which like the Syndicates and Senates of the existing Indian Universities, will be in independent charge of the whole work of higher education connected with the various faculties of Western and Oriental learning. Our University will be an examining as well as a teaching body, and questions relating to the laying down of standards, the selection of text books for all the examinations, the appointment of Examiners, the conduct of Examinations, and all subsidiary matters will have to be thrashed out and settled mostly by men on the spot. The governing body of a College affiliated to a University, such as the Aligarh College, is never confronted with these problems ; and when we remember the increasing difficulties which the Aligarh authorities have to face as time goes on, we can form a faint idea of what is in store for the Court and Senate of the proposed Muslim University. Our educationists must therefore train themselves assiduously for the new work that they will be called upon to do ; and if they fail to attain the requisite standard of efficiency I fear that the University which has been so much talked of will prove a doubtful boon.

Undenominational institutions

While on this subject I must remind you that your educational needs will not be satisfied by one University of your own ; and you must therefore continue to avail yourselves of the facilities offered by the existing Universities and their affiliated Colleges in different parts of the country. In these Colleges your community is most inadequately represented, and you must exert your utmost to increase your numbers there. It is a fatal mistake to think that the

education imparted in these Colleges is not suited to the requirements of the Muhammadans, and that they must form an educational enclave, as it were, of their own. The proposed Muslim University is a special measure of limited application, and in face of existing facts you will be unable for a long time to extend its jurisdiction over a very wide area. But even if this were feasible, I would seriously question its desirability, as it seems to me that in order to take their full share in the organic evolution of modern India, the younger generation of Musalmans must keep in close touch with those of the other leading communities, and that object is best achieved in the mixed Schools and Colleges of the country. In a paper which I read before this Conference in 1893 on the "Education of the Musalmans in the Punjab," speaking generally of the undesirability of multiplying special educational institution for the Muhammadans, I said :—

"A still more forcible argument against such rash experiments is furnished by the impropriety, indeed I may say the danger, of unnecessarily multiplying class institutions in this country. The modern tendency of setting up household gods, so to speak, in the shape of denominational schools, is not without its evil consequences to the different races in the Punjab. Already the Hindus and Muhammadans stand apart with the impassable stream of antagonistic religious and social opinions running between them, across which it is becoming more and more difficult for them every day to shake hands with even a show of cordiality. Is it then really to our common advantage that we should laboriously try to add to this distance of feeling by starting and replenishing separate educational institutions where the Hindus may learn to become more exclusively Hindu, and the Musalmans more rigidly, and it may be, more fanatically, Muslim? The Government Schools have created for us a common platform, on which the rising hopes of both the communities can meet in familiar school-boy intercourse and learn one another's failings and virtues—where the clash of interests may be softened down by mutual concessions gladly made; where the Hindu may learn the pluck and imperious self-respect of the full-blooded Musalman, and the Musalman profit by the perseverance and accommodating pliability of the meek Hindu. Let us not cast this blessing disdainfully aside, and in the blind race-conceit of the hour set up denominational colleges with the main object of emphasising congenital differences between the two communities, so as ultimately to crystallise them into two irreconcileable creeds. If you really feel the need for such Colleges, by all means have them, but your prime duty is, in all cases, to establish as definitely as possible this element of need. In such

cases sentiment must always count for a negligible quantity, nor is it desirable to have a College as a mere ornamental appendage to a school or as an enjoyable luxury."

Establishment of a system of scholarships

These remarks hold good, to a great extent, even at this day; and it is my firm conviction that one most practical way of fitting Muhammadan youths for the great struggle that lies before them in India is to let them rub shoulders with the more active and pushful young men of the other communities in mixed seminaries, so that their mental horizon should widen in early life and they should gain a deeper insight into the ideas, tastes and feelings of those with whom they will have to compete in later years.

To increase the number of Muhammadan pupils in these undenominational institutions, the best plan is to institute a sound system of scholarships in each Province, for experience shows that poverty is a serious impediment in the way of a large percentage of Muhammadan students who are desirous of prosecuting their studies up to a University degree, and that wherever special scholarships are provided for such students their numbers increase in a short time. In the Punjab the institution of what are called the "Jubilee Scholarships" in 1887 by the Local Government did much to advance collegiate education among Muhammadans, and I believe that in other Provinces also similar measures have proved eminently successful. Among our people the demand for higher education is everywhere on the increase, and you cannot always start your own Colleges to meet this demand. Besides, you must remember that it is of the first importance to give a sound education to our young men; and you must therefore attach greater value to the *quality* of the education imparted by a College than to the *number* of its passes at the University Examinations. This is exactly the principle on which the Aligarh College is founded; and it would be a grievous mistake to depart from this wholesome principle. By giving unsound education to your youths in an inefficient institution you poison the very springs of national thought, and from a moral and intellectual point of view the result

is disastrous. It is therefore far more useful to give scholarships to deserving Muhammadan students to enable them to receive good education in well-conducted and properly equipped Government Colleges than to establish, in a thoughtless mood and upon insecure foundations, your own Colleges, where with an enormous expenditure of money and labour you would only produce an inferior breed of graduates unfit to hold their own in the race of life against the cultured men of the other Indian communities.

I must incidentally observe here that the economic side of the educational question demands your special attention; and it is an instructive commentary on your methods of work that, as a rule, the expenditure per scholar in Muslim institutions is larger than in Hindu Schools and Colleges of a similar type. For a poor community like ours this is a very serious matter; and I would earnestly advise our educationists to study closely the conditions prevailing in such institutions as the Fergusson College at Poona and the D. A.-V. College at Lahore. The noble example of self-sacrifice and of devotion to duty set by the Hindu Professors in those Colleges are also well worthy of imitation by Muhammadan teachers and professors in our Islamic institutions.

Pardon this digression. In my judgment the establishment of a national system of scholarships is the urgent need of the day amongst us, and I earnestly appeal to you all to give your very best thought to the matter. On a small scale the *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Ta'lim* of Amritsar and some of the Islamia Anjumans in several other towns have done good work in this direction, but the *modus operandi* is somewhat ill-conceived and ill-adapted to modern conditions, and our educationists would do very great service to Muhammadan education by laying down in this connection a well thought out scheme. Such a scheme should include the periodical award of scholarships to our promising young men to enable them to carry on their studies in foreign countries, more especially in technical subjects; and the general conditions laid down for the award of such scholarships should be similar to those that have yielded such splendid results in

Bombay and in Calcutta, where the Tata Scholarships Committee and the Society for the Advancement of Scientific Knowledge, respectively, have been giving scholarships to deserving Indians to enable them to prosecute their higher studies in foreign lands.

Technical and scientific education

Gentlemen, the need of imparting technical education to Muhammadan boys is becoming more and more urgent every day, and in view of the local conditions obtaining in some provinces, I think that this kind of education will make satisfactory progress in our community if sufficient attention be given to it. The industrial development of India has entered on a new phase; and it is a great mistake to think that we Muhammadans should confine our attention, for the present, to literary education and that after perfecting it we can turn to technical education. It is obvious that such an argument does not hold good in respect of studies connected with the learned professions, such as Law, Medicine and Engineering; and it is equally obvious to my mind that the education of Muhammadans in industries and handicrafts, and generally in commercial subjects, must proceed side by side with their literary education. So far, we have been very remiss in strengthening our wealth-producing power as a community, and the result is that our economic condition is radically unsound. This is emphatically an industrial age, and I would strongly advise our young men who read in Arts Colleges to give more attention to the study of physical sciences and economics than to modern languages and philosophy. The scientist is more in evidence now-a-days in useful research work than the linguist or the philosopher; and at the present time the Indian Musalmans stand less in need of the polished writer of philosophic poetry dreaming his golden dreams in the dim light of his cloister than of the scientific man whose mind is well stocked with facts bearing on the material prosperity of his people and whose practical education enables

him to grapple more successfully with the hard realities of life.

Indian Government's educational policy

Gentlemen, the Government of India have recently laid down an extensive programme of educational expansion, and the Muhammadans must be prepared to take full advantage of the facilities thus afforded for the spread of education among the upper classes and the masses of the country. The Government of India resolution, dated the 21st February 1913, sketched the broad outlines of the policy which the Department of Education intends to pursue in the matter of promoting both elementary and higher education, and that resolution marks a most important stage in the educational development of this country. Soon after, on the 3rd of April 1913, the Government of India addressed a circular letter to all the Local Governments and Administrations on the subject of Muhammadan education, calling attention to the unsatisfactory condition of that education, except in the primary stage, in all the provinces, and inviting suggestions and recommendations as to the best means of improving it. In that letter the Government of India expressed their anxious desire that all reasonable facilities should be provided for the education of Muhammadans and indicated generally the direction in which enquiry and special action will, in their opinion, be useful. The Government of India letter is still, I understand, under the consideration of most of the Local Governments, and the latter have asked for the opinions of the Islamia Anjumans and the leading Muhammadan gentlemen in their respective provinces on the points raised in the letter in question and generally on the subject of advancing Muhammadan education. I earnestly hope that the various Anjumans addressed by the Local Governments will consider the whole subject thoroughly in all its bearings, with special reference to their local requirements, and will submit practical and useful suggestions for improving the education of Musalmans in all stages of instruction, more especially in the secondary and collegiate

stages, in which our community is most inadequately represented. We are all deeply grateful to the Government of India for the special interest it has taken in Muhammadan education, and on behalf of the Indian Musalmans I may express the hope that the Local Governments throughout the country may see their way to adopt special measures to encourage and promote the education of their Muhammadan subjects in accordance with the policy outlined in the Government of India letter of the 3rd February last. The whole community is awaiting with deep anxiety the result of the momentous step taken by the Supreme Government in this matter; for the Muhammadans have now come to recognise that in modern education alone lies their salvation, and they feel that their educational development will be assured if their own efforts to improve their education are supplemented by practical sympathy and encouragement from the Government. They know that at this moment there is at the head of the Indian Government a broad-minded statesman who is prepared to weigh sympathetically the special claims of backward communities to considerate treatment in the best interests of the general progress of the country; and they are determined, on their own part, to do all that lies in their power to help themselves.

Islamia College at Peshawar

A most gratifying instance of self-help on the part of our co-religionists and of sympathetic encouragement by a Local Government in the matter of our education is afforded by the recent establishment of an Islamia College at Peshawar. We are all deeply grateful to Sir George Roos-Keppel for the great interest which he has taken from the very beginning in the Islamia College scheme, and we thankfully acknowledge that the remarkable success which has attended the efforts of the Peshawar Musalmans in this matter is due mainly to his generous sympathy and support. This College bids fair to become a great moral force in the North-West Frontier Province, and among the Muhammadans of that Province the name of Sir George Roos-Keppel will go down

to posterity as one of their greatest benefactors. After a visit to the new Peshawar College a most prominent Muhammadan gentleman wrote to me about it the other day in these appreciative terms:—

"It is designed on a most liberal scale, and having regard to its romantic and lovely situation under the very eyes of the tribes who have for centuries bulked so largely in India's history, it is impossible not to realise its great capabilities in spreading the light of modern civilization among a people who have hitherto been found intractable to mere physical force. It looks as if that College will solve the frontier problem at last—what so many military expeditions have before this failed to do."

These are significant words; and they will give Sir George Roos-Keppel some idea of how very much his kindly help to a backward community in time of need has been appreciated by its thoughtful men. May I express a hope that the other Local Governments will also, in the same generous spirit as has been shown by the Government of the Frontier Province, help the Muhammadans to help themselves in promoting their education?

Interchange of views on Government letter

In connection with the Government of India letter, I would advise this conference to afford a reasonable opportunity to the leading representatives of the different provinces for an interchange of views on the general suggestions made in that letter as to the best means of advancing education among Muhammadans. The conditions which prevail in one province are necessarily somewhat different from those that exist in another; and therefore the measures that will have to be adopted for the improvement of Muhammadan education in the different provinces will not be identical. But having regard to the generally homogeneous character of the Muslim populations in different parts of India, their respective educational needs will be found to present many similar features, and this session of the Conference should afford a valuable occasion to our educational

men to compare notes with one another and to arrive as far as possible, at a common basis for future action. Special attention should be paid to the matter of secondary and collegiate education, for, as pointed out by the Government of India in their letter, it is in this respect that we lag far behind the other communities.

Gentlemen, there is an amazing disproportion between the foundations and the superstructure of your educational edifice, and this grave defect must be removed at all costs. Primary education in your community, though not very satisfactory, is fairly good in some provinces; secondary education compares very unfavourably with it everywhere; but when we come to higher education our deficiencies are most striking. In Arts Colleges and also in institutions where special branches of higher education are dealt with, the number of Muhammadan scholars dwindles into insignificance, and the result is a lamentable dearth of qualified men who can adequately represent and safeguard the interests of the community in the superior grades of the public services, in the learned professions and in other independent walks of life. Such striking developments are now taking place on every side in this country and the pace at which the other leading communities are pressing forward is so rapid that if you do not redouble your efforts to promote sound education among your co-religionists all along the line, more especially University education, both literary and technical, you will soon be confronted with a most difficult and complicated situation. You must try to retrieve your past errors and to revise and improve your methods of work for the future. If there is one remedy more efficacious than another for the ills from which your community is suffering, it is education; and in your anxiety to strengthen your position in India you must not commit the fatal error of frittering away your energies in other directions and in more seductive spheres of work without first laying a firm foundation for your intellectual self-improvement. In proportion as you advance in education of the right type, with special reference to your peculiar needs, you will become

more and more able to take your proper share and exercise your due measure of influence in the improved public life of the country ; and you can then claim that attention of the Government and that respect of the other Indian races to which, in the interest of the common weal, you must always aspire.

Two aspects of educational problem

The educational problem with which we Indian Muhammadans are confronted has two sides—and these I may perhaps not inappropriately term the technical side and the liberal side. The technical side of our educational problem has reference mainly to our relative position, as compared with the other communities, in respect of the number of Muhammadan scholars in the various stages of instruction in Schools and Colleges of all kinds, the proportion of Muhammadans who have taken University degrees, their number in the learned professions, and their position in the public service of the country. In this connection, we have to study the causes of our comparative backwardness in primary, secondary and higher education, and have to devise means for removing the existing disparity in this respect between the other leading communities and our own. The liberal side of our educational problem is concerned with quite different kinds of phenomena which exhibit themselves, in close affinity with the higher and more refined aspects of individual and national life, in an invigorating atmosphere of culture and enlightenment in which alone can flourish the most fruitful virtues of civilized man. I shall explain my meaning by a simple illustration.

In your experience of the concrete results of the modern education most of you must have come across two types of educated men in this country. One is that of a young man who has applied himself assiduously to his text-books ; who by passing successive examinations has risen laboriously, from the lowest rung of the educational ladder to the highest ; and who, after a brilliant academic career, has carried off a great many of the prizes open to men of his time. In the

student world he has the reputation of being a walking encyclopaedia of knowledge, and his College fellows look up to him with nervous respect as a man of great erudition. But scratch him and you will find a barbarian, without a vestige of real culture in him, and he is none the less a barbarian because he carries a mountainous load of books on his back. As Sadi says: چارپائے بروکتابے چند* The other type is that of the student who, in going through his School and his College curriculum, has paid more attention to the spirit of the books he has read than to their verbal framework ; who has not distinguished himself in the examination-hall or won laurels at the University Convocation, but who has assimilated the knowledge placed at his disposal by his teachers ; who has tried to apply it to the actual facts of life ; who has acquired a wider and more practical outlook upon the world and has thus become a truly cultured member of society. His inner self is in perfect harmony with his enlightened exterior, and he is a moral force of no mean potency in his own social circle.

What is true of individuals is also true of communities, and among the latter you will find the same types of temperament and behaviour which I have described above. Now, although the present needs of the country are such that we must continue to pay attention to the technical side of our educational problem, or, in other words, must try to produce from among us as many "educated barbarians" as we can, we must not lose sight of what I have called the liberal side of that problem, that is to say, we must endeavour to understand and assimilate and exhibit in our daily actions the most enduring principles of modern civic life so as to become in course of time a community of cultured and enlightened men.

Education of women

The march of events in India has brought us to a stage of progress at which it should be impossible for anyone but the most bigoted Mulla not to recognise the urgent need of an

* Beast with a burden of books.

organised and sustained scheme for promoting sound education among our women. In the West, woman has been playing, for a long time past, a by no means unimportant part in the healthy evolution of national life, and of recent years signs are not wanting in the East, and especially in our own country, to show that the weaker sex is inwardly feeling its strength and seriously means to step out of its accustomed seclusion to take an honourable and increasing interest in the more practical concerns of the outside world. It is impossible now to stem the tide which is flowing in this direction even if some of you, with a supreme contempt for the needs of the times, were to think of doing so, and you would be well advised so to regulate it as to be able to divert it into proper channels. The enormous influence of woman on the essentially human side of the character of mankind must be obvious to the most superficial observer; and our first duty at the present moment is to refine and purify that influence in our country and to bring it to bear upon the totality of our individual and corporate life in order to make it more fruitful in relation to the great movement of the world.

From the time when the first stirrings of new life send a thrill of joy through an expectant family circle to the supremely critical moment when the last ray of hope is extinguished and the dark shadows of death close in upon an emaciated figure, the personality of woman stands out as being in close vital touch with some of the most powerful springs of human thought and action; and so her part in shaping the destiny of man has been recognised in the modern age as one of great motive powers. You will all remember the pregnant saying that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world; and I may add that the delicate fingers that in the sick chamber close, with an inexpressibly affectionate touch, the eyes of the expiring man have ever been busy in unravelling the tangled skein of his private affairs which fill a large part of the span of life. The formation of useful habits in early life; the stiffening of moral fibre in the child; the development of the social sympathies and antipathies of the youth; the successful working of that

most delicate and difficult of all human relationships called marriage; the creation of an atmosphere of domestic harmony and concord, of affection and contentment in which the best private virtues always thrive—all these depend, in a large measure, upon the extent to which woman is trained and permitted to do her own proper share of work in society.

No scheme of national education will be complete among the Indian Muhammadans which does not make ample provision for the education of women on modern lines, with special reference to the peculiar needs of a progressive Islamic community. This does not by any means imply the wholesale adoption of the methods of instruction and of the standards of culture which have come to be associated with Western civilization; we in the East have our own distinctive traditions and predominant tendencies of thought, and we must evolve a new type of culture as the result of a wholesome combination of the Asiatic and European systems of training. One thing is, however, clear, and that is that the purely Eastern modes of education would be as stale, insipid and unprofitable in the case of our women as they have proved to be in the case of our men, and the community must make up its mind once and for all to allow its girls to be instructed in the elements of knowledge according to the more scientific methods of the modern age. The time has long since gone by when even our leading men favoured the idea of concentrating all our energies upon perfecting the education of boys before taking up the question of educating our girls; we have advanced far beyond the stage at which such a view could be held and acted upon without endangering our national position in India. In these days the education of girls must proceed *pari passu* with that of boys, and I am certain that a disregard of this principle will result in serious difficulties and greatly handicap us in the race of life.

There is urgent need of emphasising this principle in our national system of education, and the public mind must be trained to recognise its importance. Unfortunately the Indian Musalman has still very primitive ideas on this subject; and this was made painfully clear only recently in the Punjab in

the course of a controversy which was waged there over a proposal to introduce the teaching of English into the curriculum of a new Girls' School which has been started by the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam of Lahore. The question aroused a heated discussion both within the Anjuman and outside it; and I felt genuinely distressed at the enormous amount of turgid nonsense that was retailed in the vernacular press by writers who posed as well-informed critics, but who seemed to have the crudest conception of what education really means for the sexes and what the special requirements of the Muhammadans are in the India of the present day.

Our backwardness

The question of the education of women upon improved modern lines has been seriously taken in hand by the other Indian communities, and even in the more backward provinces they can already show fairly satisfactory results. In the Punjab, for example, the small community of the Sikhs is far ahead of Muhammadans in giving education to women, and the Hindus who come next to the Sikhs in this matter are greatly our superiors. During the quinquennium ending with the official year 1911-12, the number of Muhammadan girls has increased by 9.65 per cent in the primary stage of education and by 1.45 per cent in the secondary stage; whereas among Hindus (including Sikhs) the increase during the same period has been 17 and 6.40 per cent respectively. In the North West Frontier Province, according to the Report on Public Instruction for 1912-13, female education among Muhammadans is actually on the decline, among the causes assigned for this retrogression being the *purdah* system and the lack of qualified teachers. In that province the number of Muhammadan girls in the Primary Department is 2.8 per cent of the number of Muhammadan females in population, there being no Muhammadan girls in secondary Schools; while among Hindus the number is 29.5 per cent. in the primary stage and 7.4 per cent. in the secondary stage of instruction. In these Provinces the number of Muhammadan girls under instruction in public schools has decreased by about 10 per

cent. between 1906-07 and 1911-12, while the number of Hindu girls has increased by nearly 50 per cent. during the same period.

The comparative superiority of the other communities over you in the matter of female education is thus beyond question, and there is fresh evidence on all sides of their firm resolve to redouble their efforts in this direction. You must follow suit; and you must remember that in this matter, as in most other questions, there is no standing still; you must either press forward or lag behind. Woman is destined to play an important part in the East as she is already doing in the West; and we Indian Musalmans must rise to a conception of her true vocation in life before it is too late.

Active sympathy of H. H. the Begum of Bhopal

In this connection, I am sure I am voicing the genuine feelings of you all when I say that we owe a deep debt of gratitude to Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal for the keen personal interest which she has been taking in the education of her sex and for the munificent donations which she has made from time to time in aid of that cause. I trust that her noble example will be followed by the other Ruling Chiefs in this country. I must also take this opportunity to express our warmest thanks to Maulvi Syed Karamat Husain, who among middle class Muhammadans is, I believe, the first gentleman who has set apart a large fund for the endowment of female education in his own province, and who has thus taken the lead in a matter which is one of exceptional importance to our community and to the country at large. The Female Education Section of this Conference would do well to carefully study Maulvi Karamat Husain's educational methods and to act upon them, for I am afraid the work of this section needs to be overhauled and improved and the results so far achieved by our Girls' School at Aligarh are far from satisfactory.

Muhammadan Educational Endowment

Another question which has a most practical bearing on

the educational progress of our community is that of the administration of Muhammadan educational endowments. I think that it is a grave reproach to this Conference that during the 27 years of its existence it has left wholly untouched this question, which is one of the utmost importance, and upon the right solution of which depends, to a great extent, our educational salvation in some parts of the country. In connection with the spread of secondary and higher education among Muhammadans, the question of ways and means has always been a troublesome one with our workers ; and many a note of pessimism has been struck on momentous occasions by our leading men owing to the slow response to their appeals for funds given by the rank and file of the community. And yet how many of us have thought of devoting a little of our time and attention to the question of utilizing for our pressing needs the existing educational endowments which we owe to the munificence of generations of pious Musalmans in various parts of India, but of which the persistent maladministration is a positive disgrace to our community. Three years ago when an organised effort was made throughout the country to collect funds in aid of the Muslim University scheme, leading Anglo-Indian paper pointedly called the attention of the Muhammadan leaders to the vast annual incomes which the charitable and educational endowments created by Muhammadans in India were yielding, and which, if properly administered and applied to their legitimate purposes, were amply sufficient for financing more than one Muslim University. Is it not a grave reflection upon your common-sense that a non-Muslim writer should have placed his finger on your weak point and should have indicated to you the one practical way of solving a difficult problem? How long will you neglect your plain duty and allow large sums of money, which, according to the intentions of the original donors, must be spent in promoting the education and the mental and moral inprovement of younger generations of Musalmans, to be misappropriated by interested usurpers to the utter demoralization of every party concerned ?

Recent action of Egyptian Government

Only recently the Egyptian Government has created a new Ministry of *Wakfs*, and the step is said to have been received with warm approval by the Muslim population in Egypt, as it is felt that the control of the *Wakfs* by the Government will ensure more efficient administration. The manner in which charitable endowments used to be administered under the old system in that country led to a scandalous misapplication of the trust funds, with the deplorable result that many of the institutions for the maintenance of which the benefactions were originally intended languished for want of financial support. An Egyptian writer in a recent issue of the *Near East* drew a melancholy picture of the way in which religious endowments were mismanaged in his country, and he attributed the decay and disorganisation of the once famous *Al Azhar* University mainly to this cause. It is a gratifying sign of the times that the Egyptian Government has at last turned its attention to this momentous subject, and is determined, even at the risk of offending the susceptibilities of interested parties, to carry out a much-needed reform. I think that in our country the time has come for making a move in the same direction, and we must move with a firm step and a high resolve. We must institute a searching enquiry into the history and working of the Muhammadan educational endowments in different parts of the country, and must adopt such practical measures as would ensure their proper administration in accordance with the intentions of the original donors and to the real advantage of the classes which were intended to be benefited by those endowments. I would suggest the appointment of a representative Committee by this Conference to undertake such an enquiry, and the Committee should be asked to place itself in communication with leading Muhammadans in all the provinces, and, if necessary, with the Local Governments, to enlist their sympathy and support in this great cause. The question is so important that you must not shrink from your duty for fear of arousing opposition ; the thoughtful section of the

community will be with you if you will only persevere; and by the use of a little moral courage you will achieve results for which the coming generations will have cause to bless the name of this Conference.

Chief failing of Muhammadans—Want of Self-discipline

Gentlemen, if I were asked to sum up in one short phrase the failings of the Indian Musalmans at the present moment, I would reply—want of self-discipline.

I am aware that human activity spreads itself over such a vast surface and expresses itself in such a variety of concrete form that any generalisation intended to cover its innumerable manifestations in any one phase of life would often be both misleading and untrue. But at the same time we can, I think, discover at any particular stage of the moral and material progress of a community some of the predominant traits of its character which manifest themselves with more or less persistence in its thought and action, and which, for the time being, serve to differentiate it from other communities. It seems to me that we Muhammadans suffer, in a peculiar degree, from a lack of disciplinary self-restraint, and even our virtues are at times made to appear as serious faults because of this great defect in our national character. Illustrations of this can be easily furnished from the religious and secular life of our people. An excess of zeal in the observance of religious ceremonial is the most striking characteristic of the Musalmans, and their piety often manifests itself in extravagant forms to the utter disregard of the spirit underlying their religious precepts. They forget that Islam in all its injunctions insists upon a reasonable adjustment of the religious and the secular duties, discourages asceticism with its excessive devotion to the affairs of the next world, and enforces the rule of the golden mean between two extremes in all human relations. Our preachers always administer an over-dose of theological admonition to their congregations, and the latter are thereby led to be overzealous in

their performance of the chief practical duties enjoined by Islam, regardless of the limitations imposed in connection with them by the great Law-giver. Much of our energy thus runs to waste ; a spirit of indifference towards some of the chief concerns of life is engendered ; and little activity is shown by our people in overcoming the difficulties that lie in the path of secular advance. Think for a moment of the way in which our most useful institution of almsgiving is abused by the generality of the pious Musalmans. Every one of them considers himself free to dole out his charity as he chooses ; the objects of charitable relief are not carefully selected ; no method is observed at all in the distribution of such relief ; all advice and directions for the organisation and systematic control of *Zakat* are resented ; and the result is an apalling waste of substance and strength which, if the Musalmans only submitted themselves to a little judicious discipline, could be utilised to great national ends. Our educational institutions would not then be starved, as is the case now, through want of financial aid, and the problem of Muhammadan backwardness would be partly solved. Consider, again, the serious difficulties which have to be faced both in India and in Arabia itself, because Muhammadans who are too poor to pay the expenses of a pilgrimage to Mecca and who are therefore prohibited by Islam from undertaking it, insist on going to the *Hejaz* in large numbers every year, with the result that many of them are either left to perish in Arabia or prove a heavy burden to their richer fellow-pilgrims. The drain on the resources of the Musalmans involved in this proceeding which is repeated year after year, is enormous ; and it could be easily avoided if they were to learn how to strictly regulate their exuberant religious fervour according to the very sound rules laid down by Islam. The one great fault in the Muslim character is want of sobriety, moderation, restraint and self-denial, and yet these are the qualities to which Islam assigns a high place in the list of human virtues. A man can be as selfish, wasteful, and immoderate in devotional exercises as in his worldly

relations with his fellow beings, and the inculcation of this truth should be the aim of all religious education.

If we turn to the secular side of our life, we find that want of self-discipline is a great impediment in the path of Muslim progress. The tendency observable in the younger generation towards destructive criticism without a corresponding anxiety to show constructive work is an illustration of this failing, and one result of this unhappy tendency has been a weakening of the sense of responsibility in our community which may do a great deal more harm than it has already done. Again, consider the utterly unmethodical way in which the very large funds collected from the Indian Musalmans in aid of various movements have been administered in this country, and you will find that you have a great deal to learn from other communities as to how you should regulate your patriotic action by reference to business maxims in order both to prevent your resources being frittered away and also to apply your funds to their proper objects. This is one way of educating your community to a right appreciation of some of the factors which make for moral and material progress in India.

Our Urdu poetry

Another department of human activity in which we Muhammadans suffer from lack of discipline is our literature, and in this connection I shall call your attention to one phase of our amorous poetry. The beloved of the Muhammadan Urdu poet of the old school, in whom is incarnated his highest conception of human beauty, is a freak of nature with a mouth little bigger than the geometrical point and a waist thinner than a hair. As an example of the former, we have the couplet of a Persian poet whose style and taste our Urdu poets have tried to imitate and acquire:

* کردی به نطق نقطه موهوم را دونیم
اے ناقض کلام حکیمان بیان تو

* With your speech (O beloved), you split into two halves the imaginary point (of your mouth).
O you whose argument refutes the argument of the philosophers !"

and as an instance of the latter, I may quote the well-known verse of an Urdu poet—

*صنم کہتے ہیں تیری بھی کمر ہے   کہاں ہے کسطرف کو ہے کدھر ہے

If you think for a moment, you will perceive that in the domain of literature this kind of poetry, illustrating as it does the poet's passion for immoderate exaggeration, is the direct result of want of discipline in the poetic faculty ; and when it is remembered that all our best writers on Prosody assign to مبالغہ a high place among our recognised figures of speech which are supposed to lend beauty and force to our poetry, you will admit that we lack disciplinary training not merely in the common every-day affairs of our life, but also in regard to some of the natural springs of thought which should powerfully contribute to our intellectual improvement.

Appeals to sentiment

While on the subject of our poetry, I must not omit to mention what I consider to be a somewhat serious defect in the proceedings of most of our educational bodies, including this Conference. At our annual gatherings it is customary to allow poems to be read with a view generally to appeal to the patriotic instincts of the audience, to remind the present generation of Musalmans of the depths of degradation to which, as compared with their worthier ancestors, they have sunk, and to enlist their active sympathy and support in the cause of communal progress. No object could be nobler than this, and the motives which prompt the practical compositions of our young authors are worthy of all praise. But mark the practical effect of such proceedings on our methods of work and on the temperament of the community. With an Eastern people constant appeals to sentiment have an insidious way of producing responsive emotions of a more or less ephemeral character, with the result that, for the time being, an imaginative frame of mind is induced in the

* O idol (of beauty), they say you have a waist,
Where, which way, whither is it !

audience, which by a repetition of the same influence tends to become hardened into second nature, and all initiative for practical action, divorced from the feelings, is in consequence considerably weakened. My own experience is that, except on occasions of special significance when a strong sense of impending danger or of imperious necessity urges them on to immediate action, the Indian Musalmans are content to limit their activities to fervent appeals to the imagination and in cooler moments generally omit to take stock of the practical results of those appeals. A community with a temperament such as this has much to learn from other peoples who are blessed with a less emotional frame of mind, and much to unlearn before it can successfully compete with them in this work-a-day world of ours. One thing which you must learn is how to do your work, whether educational or other, in a business-like manner, with cool calculating heads and without a hysterical display of imaginative fire which not infrequently only ends in smoke. If the special circumstances of needs of your community compel you in some places to have something more than a prosaic programme of work, you might perhaps have a little poetry now and then, but you must make up your minds to confine its use within the narrowest limits ; and above all, you must see that it has direct reference to the work before you and is not allowed to usurp the time and attention which can be more usefully devoted to a worthier occupation. As is the case with Western people, you must conduct your educational work everywhere in India on business lines, keeping sentiment wholly in the background. Study your educational needs most carefully with special reference to time and place ; collect your data industriously and draw your inferences from them in a dispassionate spirit ; mark the actions of the other communities in the country, and while adopting their good points eschew the bad ; induce your people in backward places to take full advantage of the facilities offered by the Government for promoting education ; supplement by private enterprise of the right kind, wherever necessary, the efforts of the Government in this direction ; and above all,

Conference should be held each year for the consideration of all important educational questions affecting the Muhammadans of that particular province. Under each Provincial Committee there should be District Committees in all the important mofassil towns with Muhammadans of position and local influence as their members, and these should work in co-operation with, and under the direction of, the Provincial Committee. The whole country would thus be covered with a network of Muslim Educational Committees, through whom it would be easy for this Conference to make its influence felt over a very wide area ; and with such an organisation we should also be able to secure a continuity of practical work throughout the year without which it is difficult to achieve any very definite results in the field of education. At present we simply content ourselves with holding each year the Annual Session of the Conference in a large town and with passing a certain number of resolutions at each Session. No community ever prospered by merely recording high-sounding resolutions on paper ; and the time has now come when this Conference should show less activity in passing resolutions and greater resolution to put them into practice.

Our favourable opportunities

At the present time we have exceptional opportunities of making our efforts in this direction fruitful. General awakening has come over the Indian Musalmans ; and if we assign to education the foremost place in our national programme and concentrate our energies upon it, there is for us ample reason to be sanguine as regards our future in this country. My own view is that, as compared with Muslim communities in other parts of the world, we in India are most favourably situated both as regards the great facilities we have for initiating and carrying out to a successful conclusion a sound system of national education and also for the purpose of acquiring the capacity of evolving, by a judicious application of that system to the broader aspects of civic life, a type of culture more in harmony with the world movements of the future.

In the first place, we have the singularly good fortune to live under an enlightened system of Government, conducted by a most practical and progressive people from the West, who have guaranteed to us perfect freedom of thought and speech and action ; who have placed within our reach the best means of acquiring the priceless treasures of knowledge through one of the richest languages of modern age ; whose methods of administration contain for us the most instructive object lessons of self-knowledge, self-reverence and self-control ; who are carrying out in practice some of the best precepts of your own religious teachers ; and who are showing us by example how immeasurably superior is the active philanthropy of a Western community over the dreamy spiritualism of an Eastern race. To have been placed under the control and guidance of such a cultured nation is all for your good ; and for my own part, I can see in it the hand of Providence working to a great end. In the second place, we have the inestimable advantage of being in intimate touch, in all the chief concerns of individual and corporate life, with a most intellectual and resourceful people in the East, who have behind them a proud record of a marvellous old-world civilization, and whose future is full of great possibilities and bright hopes. For a Muslim race to have been thrown into contact with such a people is a most momentous event in history, and I cannot believe that this is a mere fortuitous concourse of two Eastern communities and creeds having no definite relation to the future well-being of humanity. To my mind, the commingling of the Saracenic and the Aryan civilizations in India marks the confluence of two intellectual streams of great potency, and the future fertilization of the Eastern mind under the stimulating and refining influences of Western culture may well be regarded by the Indian Musalmans as a matter for sincere self-congratulation. What other Muslim community in the world is placed at the present day in a similarly favourable position or can reasonably look forward to the prospect of participating in an equal degree in the moral and intellectual emancipation of mankind ?

Educational progress in the Muslim world

In thus assigning to the Musalmans in India a pre-eminent position as regards the opportunities which they enjoy for progress I am not unmindful of the fact, which is most gratifying to us all that the light of education is gradually spreading in other parts of the Islamic world, and that there are on all sides signs of a general re-awakening among Muhammadans and of a genuine desire on their part to improve their condition. It is a hopeful augury for the future of Islam that in some parts of Asiatic Russia and even in the outlying provinces of China Musalmans of light and learning are feeling the need for advancing the education of their co-religionists, and to attain that object they are opening schools of their own and taking other similar steps more suited to their local requirements. Turkey has already made considerable progress in modern education; and what is specially noteworthy is that the Turkish women are eager to receive education and to take an active part in the moral and social evolution of their country. The Egyptian Muhammadans are also gradually appreciating the value of higher education of the modern type, and the recent movement in favour of reorganising *Al-Azhar* academy on the lines of the European universities may prove to be the beginning of a most useful educational reform. But the event which is of special significance from an intellectual point of view is the recent decision of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey to establish a University at the Holy City of Medina; and if the proposed University is organised and conducted on sound educational lines the ceremony of laying its foundation stone which was performed by Sheikh Shawish on New Year's day will mark the opening of a notable chapter in the history of Muslim advancement. The possibilities of a well-equipped *Dar-ul-Ulum* at Medina are indeed great, and under efficient management it may develop into a potent instrument for the spread of enlightened ideas among backward Muslim communities in all parts of the world. It is also an auspicious coincidence that an English statesman and man of letters of

the position of Mr. Bryce has recently suggested the desirability of establishing at Cairo a School of Islamic Studies, and it is a matter of great satisfaction to find that this proposal has been received with enthusiasm by European scholars both in England and on the Continent. If the suggestion of Mr. Bryce were carried out and a school established at Cairo on lines similar to those on which the British School at Athens is constituted, it would prove a useful training ground alike for the scholar and for the statesman of the West, as through a closer study of the Islamic languages and literature they would gain a deeper insight into the working of the Muslim mind and of Muslim institutions, which are at present almost a sealed book to them. The bonds of intellectual sympathy would then be drawn closer between the West and the East to the great advantage of both, and despite sceptical forebodings of the English poet the twain might one day meet.

Conclusion

Gentlemen, to the Indian Muhammadans Agra, where we are assembled to-day, is an enchanted name round which cluster some of the best traditions of Muslim progress and culture ; and it is in the fitness of things that you should draw your inspiration from the historic scenes and sights that surround you. The very ground on which you are treading must recall to your minds the stirring memories of a heroic age, when your co-religionists bore with admirable fortitude the heat and burden of the day, and with patient labour, unflinching resolution and indomitable courage developed the arts of war and peace and maintained for a long time a high standard of civic life. At a time when the tide of Mughal supremacy was almost at its lowest ebb, the constructive genius of Akbar the Great brought the scattered elements together, evolved order out of chaos, and devised and prefected a system of administration which has been the wonder of Indian statesmen down to the present day. Under his imperial care the arts and sciences flourished to a degree hitherto unknown to Muhammadan India, and it

was his master hand that laid the foundation of that fusion of the Indian races which in this distracted land, still rent asunder by inter-communal strife and religious antagonism, must ever be the ambition of the highest statesmanship to accomplish. A little later came to the Mughal throne Shah Jehan the Magnificent, who gave India a long spell of peace—peace that hath its victories no less than war—who patronized piety and learning and exalted merit above ancient lineage and riches; who made art the study of princes and placed before the people the best specimens of aesthetic culture; who immortalised the most abiding phase of human affection by building the Taj—that perfect embodiment of faith, hope, love and beauty of which not India only but all the world is proud. That inimitable monument, with its magnificent dome poised in the clear, crisp air of a winter morning and its tall minarets shining in the rays of the risen sun, holds aloft before you, if only you would reflect for a moment, the highest ideals of purity and refinement, of devotion and self-sacrifice, which are, and must always be, the aim and object of all true education.

From Sikandra on one side and from the Taj on the other the two great Mughal Emperors are watching your proceedings and your work with sympathy; they are with you in spirit; and it is for you to show by the manner in which you would discharge your great trust how far you are worthy of their benedictions.

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HISTORY IN ITS RELATION TO SOCIOLOGY*

INTRODUCTION

IT was not without considerable hesitation that I accepted the very flattering invitation of the Council of the Punjab Historical Society to read a paper at its fifth annual meeting. Unfortunately, in my College days it did not fall to my lot to read, on a systematic plan and as part of my academic course of study, the subject of History, whether ancient or modern ; and in after life, owing to the exigencies of professional and official work of a rather absorbing character, my mental equipment, such as it is, has been deplorably deficient in historical knowledge such as could be drawn upon, with any degree of confidence, for a contribution worthy of being placed before a learned body like this Society. In the circumstances I would not have had the temerity to undertake the difficult task of addressing you had it not been for the fact that your Council, in generous recognition of my limitations, granted me the option of a subject of general interest falling within the wide scope of your objects in respect of which I should not be required to do any research work or to show any expert knowledge of history. I have to express to your Council my deep gratitude for allowing me this choice ; and I hope the members of this Society will not think that I have abused the privilege thus extended to me in taking up for my discourse this evening a subject of a rather nebulous character which is admirably calculated to conceal my ignorance of all serious aspects of history, and under

* An address delivered on 30th January, 1915 before the Punjab University Historical Society, with a postscript on "Some Criticisms Answered", specially written for *The Hindustan Review*, Allahabad.

cover of which I can safely wander into regions that the expert historian would refuse to recognise as lying within the limits of his proper domain. The liberty of free movement conceded to me must be my chief excuse for my irregular peregrinations in the realm of universal history as represented by the disjointed notes that make up my paper; and I may be permitted to say that I should feel a sense of satisfaction if a bolder spirit would hereafter arise from among the members of this Society, and, bursting the bonds of convention, would follow more fruitful lines of historical research inspired by a wider and deeper aquaintance with the complex social phenomena that have presented themselves in the past and which confront us at every turn at present in our own country.

The Object of the Paper

The object of this paper is to emphasise the view that History stands to Sociology in the relation of a special to a general social science, and that the serious historical student in this country who is anxious to grasp the real meaning of his vocation must recognise the importance of sociological facts as affording most valuable material for constructive history. The subject will be treated not so much in its theoretical aspect as in its practical bearing on the collection, classification and appraisement of facts which is an essential preliminary to all true historical research.

True Import of History

In common parlance history is a record of the achievements of kings, warriors and statesmen ; of battles, conquests and dynastic successions ; and of political events of great magnitude which impress the imagination and engross the attention of large sections of mankind. A little reflection will show that this is an imperfect view of the subject-matter of history, and for a long time past the trend of sound opinion among enlightened nations has been towards the recognition of the principle that true history is concerned not with individual men as such and with their isolated acts,

however great the men and however grand their acts, but with men as more or less active members of a social group, which has certain definite, though variable, relations with other social groups, and with their acts considered in their correlations with the doings of other social beings and as links in the lengthening clain of human achievements. According to an influential school of learning, it is now a wellrecognised method of historical writing that the historian should devote his attention less to personal aspects of the acts of renowned men in any given age or country than to multitudinous ways in which those acts affected, and were affected by, the prevailing social forces and contributed towards the progressive evolution, in all the arts of civilization of the community or people to which their authors belonged. History does not mean a bare record of facts which have occurred in the past without any reference to the antecedent events which brought those facts into existence or to other facts which followed them in space or time. As a special social science, history is no doubt primarily concerned with the correct and authentic chronicling of past occurrences ; but it has also a secondary function to perform in so far as it has to discover the true import of those occurrences by finding out their correlations with other facts in contemporary human experience in order to define and bring into prominence the social process and thus lead to a better and more fruitful knowledge of social reality. The patient and conscientious chronicler whose work begins with discovering and recording external events that have occurred in the past and ends there is not a historian ; he does excellent spade work, digging up and bringing to light valuable material that lay buried under the *debris* of bygone ages, but it requires the historian's art to turn that material to account and to build with it the beautiful fabric of historical narrative through which the present generation of men hold communion with the living spirit of the past. Every great historical event is so intimately related to other events in space and time that it is impossible to view it in complete isolation and if it were

possible to do so, the historian would fail to comprehend its totality of existence as a dynamic factor in the evolution of the social group in whose life-history it forms a conspicuous landmark. The historian must not be content with merely collecting social facts, but he must also classify and appraise them, and this he can do only if he has a clear perception of their inter-relations and inter-workings as social forces. He must not treat them in their statical repose as lifeless tissues of a dead past, but must view them in the kinetic relations in which they actually occur in the organic evolution of humanity. He must acquire a clear and correct idea of social causation, of social self-consciousness, of social process as applied to the whole field of social phenomena, for without a knowledge of these essential elements of the social truth it would be impossible for him to perceive and realise the true valuations and inner meanings of historical events which in their ultimate analysis will be found to be the result of the inter-play of certain simple social forces that are in operation in a variety of ways in different stages of social evolution. While confining its operations to the region of recorded facts, history has to trace and describe the different steps in the evolutionary process by which humanity is ever striving to realise its true destiny, and those take a very contracted and partial view of the real scope of history who say that it must content itself with a matter-of-fact presentation of external events and take no note of their correlations with other events as connected links in the subtle chain of social evolution. The historian cannot record a continuous series of events which are worth being recorded without appreciating their inter-relation and unconsciously interpreting them in terms of the social truth according to his own lights; and he is thus continually performing in one part of the field of social phenomena operations very much akin to those which the sociologist has to carry on in the entire realm of human association. The distinction between history as a bare record of external events considered as isolated facts and history as a connected and rationalised narrative of those events viewed in their relationships

inter se and with other events and as illustrative of the nature and trend of the social process is sufficiently indicated in the terms historiography and historiology. Although among historians you will still come across some rather zealous advocates of the first mentioned method of historical writing, the modern tendency appears to be distinctly towards recognising historiology as the more accurate description of history viewed as a fruitful branch of human knowledge.

The Ancient Foundation and Modern Improvement

This latter view as to the scope and function of history is by no means a modern conception, and among the learned men of the ancient world we find some very able representatives of this school of thought. Thucydides among the Greeks, Tacitus among the Romans and Ibn Khaldun among the Arabs did most useful work in this sphere and laid the foundation of what has now inappropriately been termed the "Philosophy of History." The method of historical study as advocated and practised by these great scholars is exceedingly fruitful, and their writings though containing much that from the more scientific point of view of the modern historian would be pronounced as inadmissible in a work on history, throw a flood of light on the social, religious, economic and political organisations of the ancient races of mankind. Their method has been considerably improved upon in recent times by a school of historians which is represented in England by, among others, Gibbon, Carlyle, Hallam, Macaulay and Green. The idea that Kings and Governments are the central realities in politics and society, and that communities and nations must be treated as existing in subordination to them has long since been exploded, and historians have for some time past been devoting greater attention to a careful study of the social phenomena in their static and their kinetic aspects, of the causes of social change and of the general laws of social evolution which ultimately determine the position of a particular people as an organic unity in relation to other peoples.

The Historian's view of National Progress

In what we call the modern age, individual liberty of thought and action within certain prescribed limits has obtained fuller recognition in social life, and along with this there has grown up a feeling of national solidarity as a result of conscious effort for national progress in all the departments of human activity. One necessary consequence of this has been a marked change in the point of view of the historian ; for whereas formerly the king as the *de jure* and *de facto* head of the State loomed so large in the historical picture as to claim almost exclusive attention, at the present day he has receded into the background, and it is the nation that has burst upon our view with its fascinating variety and richness of colour and demands a minute study of its features. The historian is now occupied mainly with the principal facts and events of corporate life as they exhibit themselves in the working of social, political and industrial institutions of the nation ; he studies the correlation of cause and effect among those events and deduces therefrom his own conclusions, which may be of general or of limited application according as the social phenomena dealt with are common to many other nations or constitute a distinctive feature of the particular nation which is the subject of special investigation. Whatever the result achieved, it is the method in which we are interested and you will perceive that the method employed by the modern historian is such that he is a co-worker with the sociologist in the same extensive field of enquiry though each has his own peculiar sphere of interests and each compasses his own end by viewing combinations of social phenomena from different standpoints.

The Meaning of Sociology

It may perhaps be necessary in this place to indicate in a few words what sociology means. Sociology may be described as the science of the constitution and evolution of human society, its subject matter being the process of human association or human achievement. Treating society as an

organism it studies its structure and functions with a view to discover the general laws which govern social evolution and in accordance with which the institutions of society grow and change. According to some German writers, sociology is hardly distinguishable from the philosophy of history, as each aims at tracing the progressive evolution of all human affairs and arriving at generalisations which are fundamentally identical. Paul Barth, for instance, says that history is the science of the development of men in their activity as social beings and its aim is to enquire into the causes of social movement and to search for the laws of social progress. The student of Ibn Khaldun will perceive a remarkable family resemblance between Barth's theory and the view held and propounded by that distinguished Muslim historian in the famous Introduction to his great history.

Social Activities and Sociological Phenomena

Although history has not yet attained the dignity of a science and some eminent writers maintain that it never will, yet it seems clear that historical events are not the results of fortuitous combinations of social phenomena ; and that they are mostly the effects of definite causes which operate with some degree of uniformity under given circumstances. In consequence, however, of the infinite variety and complexity of social phenomena and the existence of certain indeterminate and inscrutable factors in social evolution, of which the correct valuations have not yet been ascertained, it has not been found possible to formulate sociological laws of universal application similar to the laws that govern the physical world. This accounts for our inability to predict social events with the same certainty with which we can predict the occurrence of physical phenomena. Side by side with the existence of a uniform sequence in some groups of our social activities due to the causal connection between sociological phenomena of a certain order there are to be found abnormal working of social sources which produce unexpected results and upset all human calculations. Hence the intense belief in constant Divine interference in all

human affairs which finds expression in the common saying "Man proposes, God disposes."

Study of Social Progress

The important fact which the historian, no less than the sociologist, has to note is that amid the infinite permutations of social phenomena and owing to the presence of the mysterious psychic element in all human affairs the task of discovering general laws that are supposed to regulate the onward progressive development of society is one of exceptional difficulty, and in order to achieve valuable results from his enquiry he must bring to bear upon it great industry, perseverance and patience. Each historian has to deal with fresh material and to grapple with fresh difficulties in seeking the solution of human problems, in regard to which the labours of past explorers in the same field do not avail him much, for history never really repeats itself. In one sense, no doubt, history repeats itself daily and hourly in human experience ; for like the earth in its diurnal motion man seems to revolve in the common concerns of life round a fixed social axis. But just as the earth is perpetually moving rapidly forward in space and at every moment of time is placed in entirely new physical surroundings, so man as a social being in his onward evolutionary progress is subject to the influence of an ever-changing environment. Hence it is a truism to say that no two historical events of any magnitude are exactly alike, and that each people as a social and political entity and each period of history with its own distinctive features presents new aspects of the historical problem. Innumerable undercurrents and myriads of confused waves of social action impart vitality to every large movement in society, and it must be carefully and cautiously watched and studied in its subtle ebb and flow by the historian who would know the laws that govern the periodical tides in human affairs.

The position which I have so far striven to maintain is that history is not merely concerned with a description of external events as visible products of the social mind but

that it is also interested in considering their inner working, meanings and relationships which alone can help to a rational interpretation of the social process and furnish the real key to the solution of the great human problem.

Some Illustrations

Let us now have a few illustrations of this principle from past history. The three great historical religions of the world, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, which between them claim the allegiance of by far the largest portion of the human race, are associated with the names of three great moral teachers of mankind, Gautama Buddha, Jesus Christ and Muhammad. The life-story of each is a noble record of strenuous endeavour to solve the riddle of life and to find out how the individual spirit of man could be made to rise above its earthly surroundings and to hold communion with and lose itself in the universal soul. Were it possible for the historian to consider the personality of each as a self-centred spiritual force having no relation to the seething mass of squalor, sinfulness and superstition around it, he would fail to grasp the real meaning of nine-tenths of each reformer's work in life. Each of these great teachers had set before himself one and the same task, namely, the moral regeneration and spiritual uplifting of mankind, but each being born in a different age among a different people with a different environment, the dispensation promulgated by each had its own peculiar features and its stuble influences have flowed for centuries along certain characteristic channels. To understand the reformer and his system and the instruments employed by him in carrying out his high mission, you must thoroughly know the country in which his lot was cast, the people among whom he lived and moved and had his being, the character and volume and operation of the social forces by which he was surrounded, the opportunities for success placed within his reach and the difficulties thrown in his way by nature and man, the moral and material conditions of the communities inhabiting other lands than his own, the temper of his own age and that of the ages immediately preceding and succeeding it ;—in short, you

must study the central figure in its totality and in relation to its setting before you can hope to know the whole truth about it.

Buddha—the Man of the Epoch

To know why Gautama Buddha gave up his princely inheritance, took himself into voluntary exile, and adopted the life of an anchorite; why he was so profoundly touched by the scenes of human sordidness and misery which he saw around himself, resolved to probe the mystery of life, and threw himself devoutly into the work of promoting the well-being of his fellow men; why his teaching so deeply stirred the hearts and fired the imagination of his people and suddenly lifted them to a higher plane of thought;—to know all this it is not enough to study the psychic development of the great teacher's inner self and to take measure of his own spiritual stature. For this purpose you must acquire an intimate knowledge of the social and political organisation of the Indian people of that time; of their customs and usages and beliefs and practices; of the moral and material conditions under which they lived; of the strength of the hold which the Brahmanical creed and ritual had acquired over their minds; and of the extent to which the dead-weight of sacerdotalism had crushed all liberty of conscience and freedom of action and rendered hopeless all efforts for a forward movement. The circumstances created the man of the epoch; the mine had already been laid and was waiting for the hand that was to apply the match; and the explosion that followed produced a moral earthquake that shook India almost to its foundations. As the years rolled on, the lessons inculcated by the great preceptor sank deeper and deeper into the heart of humanity until the king, the statesman and the warrior acknowledged his spiritual sway, and the earth and skies seemed to be filled with sweetness and light. All of a sudden the forces of reaction gained ascendancy; the religion that had been the solace of countless millions and the inspiration of a host of thinkers was driven out of its home to find refuge in strange lands: and at last

India resumed the even tenor of her old-world religious life as if Gautama Buddha had never walked on her soil. The historian performs only half his task who contents himself with describing the life work of that great Indian reformer and does not take account of the wide range of the Buddhistic movement from its inception down to modern times in its relation to the conditions of ancient India and to those of the other Asiatic countries in which Buddhism has for centuries ministered to the spiritual wants of the prince and the peasant alike.

Christ's Mission

We now come to Christianity, the second great historical religion that at the present moment dominates the higher thought of the world and wields its masterful sway over nations who are in the vanguard of civilization. As we contemplate the life of its great founder with its winning simplicity and its many touching incidents which appeal direct to the human heart, the master's overflowing sympathy for all forms of suffering and distress, the loving tenderness with which he poured balsam into bleeding wounds, his heroic revolt against the dead formalism of the prevailing creed and the selfish hypocrisy of its priesthood, his unceasing efforts to bring erring humanity back to the paths of honour and of virtue, and last of all his martyrdom in the sacred cause of eternal truth, as we contemplate these things, we feel that we are face to face with a spiritual force of marvellous potency. Can the historian do full justice to the great teacher and his high mission if he only describes his personal character, his relations with his disciples, his daily round of life, his many acts of kindness towards the poor and the down-trodden, the general topics of his teachings, and the means by which he sought to impress and educate the conscience of his people? All this is very important in its own way, but it amounts to barely a tithe of the solution of the problem presented by the strange dispensation that was destined to revolutionise the world. To understand Christianity we must study the personality

of the great Hebrew seer in its relation to the Jewish race and to the other races of the then known world; we must seek in the social atrophy and moral decadence of those races the need for the birth of a new ethical movement and the secret of the powerful influence which it exercised over their succeeding generations. As a notable link in the chain of the religious evolution of mankind, Christianity in its inception had a definite relation to Judaism and to other less known contemporary forms of faith; and in its onward progressive course it replaced and modified and assimilated many systems of thought and belief which had ceased to appeal, individually or collectively, to the human soul. It is a most remarkable phenomenon in history that the Christian religion commands at the present day the homage of the most powerful and enlightened nations of the world; and the explanation of this does not lie merely in the intrinsic value of this religion and in the general conditions that prevailed in the country of its birth before and at the time when it came into existence. The explanation must also be sought in the stage of political and intellectual development which the Asiatic peoples had then reached, in the decay of ethical principles among the Greeks and the Romans which resulted in the pollution of springs of thought and action; in the inadequacy of primitive pagan beliefs for the growing spiritual needs of men; in the unifying influence of an intense faith in one common saviour; in the momentous struggle for supremacy, both in temporal and in spiritual affairs, upon which Christianity entered with a rival system of faith in the Middle Ages; and in the remarkable wave of a yearning for knowledge which, as one of the results of that struggle and of other causes, swept over Christendom.

The Dominating Force of Islam

Next, we have to deal with Islam. To grasp the full meaning of the rise and growth of this religion the historian must not be content with describing the chief incidents in the life of the Arabian Prophet,—the gradual evolution of his spiritual ideals; the steps by which he reached his

monotheistic conception ; his fervid denunciation of, and his long conflict with, all accepted forms of belief ; the fierce opposition of the leading men of his own tribe to the spread of his propaganda ; the implacable hatred with which they pursued him and his followers ; and ultimate triumph of his mission in the greater part of Arabia in his own lifetime. These are but the minor aspects of the Islamic movement, and a knowledge of these is far from sufficient for an adequate comprehension of its real nature and vitality when it is considered as one of the dominant spiritual forces of the world. The historian must know the state of religion and morality in Arabia in the time of Muhammad—he must study the whole social and political organisation of the Arabian tribes and analyse the strange fabric of their usages, practices and superstitions in the light of their ancient rivalries and feuds and internecine strifes—and he must also find out the moral and material condition of the peoples outside Arabia before he can realise the nature of the refractory material with which the Prophet had to deal, the enormous difficulties that he had to contend with, and the unique strength of purpose which he brought to bear upon the arduous task before him. But of far more interest than all this to the historical student is the meteoric progress made by Islam after the death of its founder ; the rapidity with which its central idea of the one God sank into the human soul ; the remarkable strength of the bond of union created through it between dissimilar races and distant lands ; and the success with which the need for a spiritual training of man as a social being has been presented by it and acknowledged in practical life. To this day Islam is a living faith to countless millions, and not merely a symbol of belief that has lost all vitality in the course of ages. It is for the historian to say why this should be so in a materialistic age when religious observances have become more or less matters of social fashion or convenience.

The Influence of Religious Movements

Closely allied to the subject we have been considering is

the question of the means by which generally a religious movement makes itself felt among any considerable body of men. When we study the life history of each of the three great religions which have been referred to above, it becomes clear that the propagation of each proceeded upon certain peculiar lines determined by the character and condition of the peoples and races among which it took its rise and was spread by degrees, and that owing to the infinite complexity of sociological phenomena that must always enter into the calculation it is impossible to lay down a definite standard of missionary conduct to which all religions must conform. In actual life the political side of a religious movement is frequently more in evidence than its strictly social or spiritual side, and the historian who lays greater stress on its political side, because it is more accessible to him, gives an imperfect or misleading account of the propagation of the particular religion which forms the subject of his enquiry. This in part explains why the Arabian Prophet was grievously misjudged by a certain school of historians until the question of the rise and growth of Islam came to be studied, like other great questions from the more correct standpoint of social evolution and by the light of the general principles underlying the development of religious conceptions among mankind. Few, if any, writers on history will now be found who still make the use of the shallow taunt that Islam was spread by the sword. This is true either of all religions or of none ; and it is a sign of the adoption in recent times of the right standard of historical enquiry that in considering the question of the means by which a religion was propagated due weight is given to the operation of natural causes, such as the exuberant energy of the new faith, its inherent spiritual freshness and strength, its superiority over prevailing beliefs as a vitalizing and unifying force, the new converts' excess of zeal, the quiet missionary work of more thoughtful spirits which produces a social ferment and exerts an expansive influence over the popular mind. All these factors make for the peaceful progress of religion and lead to remarkable results ; but it sometimes happens,

as it has happened in the past in the history of each great religion, that a political adventurer or a powerful fanatic, in order to advance his own ends, begins to use force to spread his creed and thenceforward religion is subordinated to politics and shares its militant character. Then true religion ceases to exist except in the hearts of those who follow, in all humility, in the footsteps of its great founder. *La Ikraha fid din* : "Let there be no compulsion in religion," says the Quran ; and the Arabian Prophet and the four Caliphs who succeeded him scrupulously observed that injunction. The almost miraculous success of Muhammad's mission was due to the rekindling of the divine fire in his soul, which by his fervent preaching he transfused into those of his hearers. As Carlyle says—"The Great Man was always as lightning out of heaven. The rest of men waited for him like fuel and then they too would flame."

Effects of the Crusades

Another illustration of the principle that the historian must not be content with merely describing great events as past occurrences but that he must read and interpret them in their correlation to other events is furnished by the Crusades or the religious wars of the Middle Ages. These sanguinary conflicts between Christianity and Islam which occupied very nearly two centuries were the result of an extraordinary outburst of religious enthusiasm among the Christian nations of Europe ; and though the direct object of the Crusades was not accomplished, the general effects of the wars on the Christians and the Musalmans were both important and far-reaching. Historians have differed as to the nature of those effects, but that the Crusades led to certain great and unforeseen results none can deny. The princes and peoples of Christendom, separated by long distances, were suddenly brought into close contact with each other in pursuance of a sacred cause ; the sense of common wrong, for the redress of which they all resolved to sacrifice the best they had, made them sink their differences for a time ; they entered upon the gigantic struggle with a

determination and carried it on with a fervour which brought their highest virtues into play. The successive expeditions into Palestine conferred upon them all the benefits of travel ; they witnessed the wonderful signs and symbols of Eastern civilization and culture ; their outlook upon the world was widened and their narrow views underwent a significant change. Certain arts and sciences, to which Europe was till then a stranger, were imported from Asia ; commerce and industry received a great impetus ; the maritime cities sprang into great prominence ; the power of the nobles declined and a new class of citizens came into existence ; several religious orders were formed which helped to train and develop the best Christian virtues ; chivalry was introduced into Europe for the first time and respect for woman became the recognised canon of social decorum. The historian who merely describes the external incidents of the Crusades without any reference to their antecedent causes and to their after-effects on the Christians and the Musalmans—who confines his attention to their outward appearances and does not study their inward meanings—gives but a mutilated picture of a notable phase of the History of Religion.

The Mughal Period

Coming now to modern Indian history we find that historians in their treatment of the Mughal period have not done full justice to the great Monarchs of the Mughal dynasty just because they have paid insufficient attention to the social and moral aspects of their rule as distinguished from the political side of it. A great deal has been said and written about Akbar and Aurangzeb and to a lesser extent, about Jahangir and Shah Jahan ; but the European historians' stock of knowledge about those Emperors is still deficient in accurate information, and the real history of the Mughal period has yet to be composed. Through our school books we have become familiar with certain stereotyped opinions about the character and capacity of this or that monarch, and as in our younger days we are often influenced in our way of thinking by what we read, we have come to regard

those opinions as the final verdict of history. But when in maturer years we examine them more closely, we discover that while some of them are correct others are either wholly or partly erroneous because they are based upon wrong data or hasty generalisations or preconceived notions of the writer. Illustrations of this can be furnished from most of the historical accounts of the reigns of all the four Mughal Emperors I have named, especially those of Akbar and Aurangzeb, who represent two different types of Muhammadan rulers in mediaeval India. The difficulties of the modern historian in presenting true pictures of the moving scenes which fill the reigns of these two great men are enhanced by the fact that the contemporary chroniclers of their rule were mostly either partisans or their opponents, and those annalists' accounts of what happened and why it happened have to be very carefully scrutinised before we can arrive at a correct judgment. The constructive policy of Akbar, with its pleasing phase of a remarkably conciliatory attitude towards his Hindu subjects, has naturally won the encomiums of historians and we admire Akbar for his valour, foresight, moral courage, wide outlook, and statesmanship of a higher order. But in our estimate of him as the man of the epoch, do we give due weight to the work and worth of the fine galaxy of brilliant men who had gathered round him and who evolved and carried into practice many of the great ideas that have made his reign famous? Take for instance, his *Din-i-Ilahi* or Drivine faith which, with its quaint yet attractive practices, stands out in the Mughal period as a most remarkable phase of latitudinarianism in religion. Was it wholly or even mainly the product of his own mind, and is the historian justified in giving him the entire credit or discredit for it? The expression *Din-i-Ilahi* is one of those phrases by studying the life story of which you can sometimes trace the subtle ramifications of a vital movement that marks a stage in social evolution. Read an account of that ingenious and profound Shia scholar Shaikh Mubarik and of his brilliant son Abul-Fazl in Azad's *Darbar-i-Akbari* which is one of the most valuable and suggestive

contributions to the history of Akbar, and you will form some idea of how they, assisted partly by Faizi, invented and formulated and systematized the *Din-i-Iahi* and placed within Akbar's grasp a ready-made weapon by which he, on the one hand, broke down the barriers of sacerdotal authority and assumed the supreme command of spiritual as well as temporal affairs and they, on the other hand, gained a victory over their Hanafi rivals Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdun Nabi. You must dive into the religious literature, and acquire an insight into the social fabric of Muslim society in Akbar's time to grasp the real import of the "Divine Faith" movement so as to be able to judge correctly one trait of that great Emperor's complex character.

Aurangzeb's Misfortune

Akbar's *Din-i-Ilahi* led to a marked relaxation of the religious fibre, and when fifty years later the reaction came in the time of the Puritan Emperor Aurangzeb, which created an atmosphere of austere simplicity and punctilious conduct in life, the royal Court and the people naturally chafed under the restraints imposed by the new *regime*. Aurangzeb suffered from the faults of his many virtues because he had the misfortune to come to the throne after the Indian people had a taste of the eclectic "Divine Faith" of Akbar and the luxurious ease of Shah Jahan, and because the temper and tone of the age had changed and he had to work out his destiny in a different environment from that which had contributed to the success of his great ancestors' imperial plans. The historian has yet to read the events of his reign by the light of the material similar to that which some years ago was collected and utilised by the late Maulvi Shibli Numani, and he may find reason to change his point of view and to regard Aurangzeb with greater historical sympathy.

Method of Historical Study

The position which I have endeavoured to define is that we must study historical events not merely in their external

aspects but also in relation to their inner meanings, and that this can be done only if the historian analyses sociological phenomena with which he has to deal in the light of certain broad principles that underlie the social process. We are concerned here not so much with the judgments of history as with the method according to which those judgments are formed, and a correct appreciation of that method is as important for the expert historian as it is for the lay reader of the records of his investigations. In his field of work the sociologist as well as the antiquary comes to the aid of the historian, and he must utilise the fruits of the labour of both before he can hope to bequeath a precious inheritance to posterity.

Some Criticisms Answered

In the course of the discussion on my paper at the meeting of the Punjab Historical Society, Pandit Sheo Narain, who led the discussion, complained that I had done an injustice to Hinduism by omitting to treat it as a great historical religion along with Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. Mr. Manohar Lal, who followed Pandit Sheo Narain, was silent on this point, though he agreed with him on another point to which I shall advert presently. In my brief reply to the criticisms of Pandit Sheo Narain, I said that my friend had misunderstood the object and scope of my reference to the three religions mentioned in my paper, and that Hinduism was not a historical religion in the sense in which I had used that expression. I added that the origin of Hinduism was lost in the mists of antiquity, and that no one had yet been able to ascertain who the founder of this religious system was and what was his life-history. My object was not to write a disquisition on the great religions of the world whether they had risen in prehistoric times or in the historical period ; that aspect of the subject was wholly foreign to my main thesis. My position was that history is not merely concerned with a bare description of external events, but that it is also interested in studying their inner meanings and their relationships to other events that will help to a

rational interpretation of the social process, which, in its ultimate analysis, is the real subject-matter of constructive human history. To illustrate this principle from past history, I referred to the three great historical religions of the world—Buddhism, Christianity and Islam—which are associated with the names of three great moral teachers of mankind, Gautama Buddha, Jesus Christ and Muhammad. My object in referring to these religious systems in particular was to emphasise the view that to know any one of them in its totality as an expression of the spiritual self-consciousness of man, it was not enough to study the personality of its founder but that we must study that personality in its correlations with the various groups of social phenomena that constituted that founder's life-environment and in the light of the antecedent and contemporaneous social conditions of his country and its people. From this point of view, any reference of Hinduism in my paper would have been irrelevant; and I could not with any semblance of reason speak of it as a historical religion so as to include it in the same category with Buddhism, Christianity and Islam.

It will thus be seen that the omission on my part to treat of the Hindu religion in my paper was not due to any lack of sympathy with it or of respect for its followers, and much of the criticism that has been levelled against my paper in the Hindu press is based upon a complete misconception of its real object and of the position which I have endeavoured to define therein. Were it necessary for me to state my general opinion of Hinduism, I would have no hesitation in expressing my admiration of it for the many great virtues which it possesses as a social system representing a notable phase of organic evolution in the East. I admire it for its vitality, its elasticity and its comprehensiveness, and it seems destined, in an age of religious renaissance that may one day dawn upon India, to supply the motive power for many a vital movement of social reform. Already one of India's ablest sons has perceived the need for a "New Hinduism" that shall readjust the old-world ideals

of Sanatan Dharma to the altered conditions of the present age, and has indicated the lines upon which the work of reconstruction should proceed. As a spiritual force, Hinduism has not spent itself, and on all sides in this country we see signs of a Hindu revival that may startle the world, like the poetry of Rabindranath Tagore, by fresh achievements in the domain of high ethical thought and of more refined philanthropy.

Pandit Sheo Narain and Mr. Manohar Lal raised another point in the course of the discussion on my paper. They said in effect that the real work of the historian was merely to collect facts and to present them in a connected form, and that he was not concerned with tracing their correlations with other groups of social phenomena with a view to discovering their inner meanings and interpreting them as constituent elements of the social process. In their opinion the historian must not pass judgments on historical events nor seek to deduce thereform any principles of general application, as by doing so he would run the grave risk of presenting a historical picture as coloured by his own personal bias. In reply I pointed out that the ascertainment and collection of facts was no doubt a necessary preliminary to all historical writing of any value; but that the true historian was a great deal more than a mere chronicler of events; he had to classify the facts and to appraise them before he could weave them into the web of an instructive historical narrative. I still adhere to that opinion. It is impossible to banish all judgment from the domain of history, for in performing the difficult task of sifting evidence with a view to ascertain true facts the historian must bring his judgment to bear on the inter-relations of important historical events and movements, and he cannot therefore write history without at the same time judging it. Surely, if the lessons of history have any meaning, if from historical events we are to gather wisdom in the present and draw inspiration for the future—the historian must do more than merely grope among the dead bones of the past and draw up a dry-as-dust catalogue of

them leaving the reader to his own devices to construct them into the body social. A history written on this model would be but a barren and unprofitable record of past occurrences devoid of real human interest and lacking in those elements of social truth the discovery of which is the ultimate aim and object of all true historical research.

APPENDIX I

JUSTICE MIAN MUHAMMAD SHAH DIN

1868 : (2.4.68) Born at Lahore.

1873-87 : Participated actively in literary and social Reform Movements.

1887 : Graduated at Government College, Lahore and left for England.

1890 : (June) called to the Bar (London).

1890 : (September) returned from England.
25.10.90 : Public Lecture : "A few Ideas about England"

1891 : Enrolled as advocate Chief Court, Punjab (January)
Founded Y.M.M.A. (Young Men's Muhammadan Association).

1893 : Fellow Punjab University : University Activities (1893-1918).
(December) Lecture at Muhammadan Educational Conference Aligarh "Education of Musalmans in Punjab"
(Lectures, Speeches, Articles, Poems : 1880-1918)

1894 : Presided at Muhammadan Educational Conference, Aligarh (A Lecture to the Aligarh Students).

1895 : Elected Syndic Punjab University.

1896 : Trustee Aligarh College.

1903 : Appointed Member Punjab Legislative Council. (Reappointed 1905).

1906 : Member All-India Muhammadan Deputation to Lord Minto (October).

1906 : Appointed temporary Judge Chief Court Punjab (December).

1907 : Reverted to Bar (August).

1908 : (March) President All-India Muslim League (Aligarh).

1908 : (October) Reappointed Judge Chief Court Punjab. continued as Judge till 1918.

1912 : Visited England and Scotland ; toured with his son.

1913 : (June) Appointed as permanent Judge Chief Court.

1913 : President All India Muhammadan Educational Conference (Agra).

1915 : Address in Punjab University : "History in its relation to Sociology."

1915-18 : Deterioration in health.

1917 : Appointed Chief Justice (sub protem) Punjab Chief Court (Feb. to August).

1918 : (2.7.18) Died at Lahore.

APPENDIX 2

همایوں

اے همایوں! زندگی تیری سراپا سوز تھی
تیری چنگاری چراغ انجمن افروز تھی
گرچه تھا تیرا تن خاکی نزار و دردمند
تھی ستارے کی طرح روشن تیری طبع بلند
کس قدر بے باک دل اس ناتواں پیکر میں تھا
شعلۂ گردوں نورد اک مشت خاکستر میں تھا
موت کی لیکن دل دانا کو کچھ پروا نہیں
شب کی خاموشی میں جز هنگامۂ فردا نہیں
موت کو سمجھے هیں غافل اختتام زندگی
هے یه شام زندگی صبح دوام زندگی

اقبال (دسمبر ۱۹۲۱)

HUMAYUN*

Your life, O Humayun, was all afire,
Your spark was the light that illumined society.
Though your earthly frame was slender and stricken with pain,
Your lofty mind was radiant like a star.
What a fearless heart dwelt in that feeble form—
A heaven-soaring flame in a handful of dust.
The knowing heart, however, cares not for death,
For the stillness of night hides but the tumult of the morrow.
The ignorant think that death is the end of life,
Verily this eve of life is the dawn of life eternal!

* This is a translation of Iqbal's poem همایوں (Humayun), which he wrote for the first issue of the "Humayun" monthly magazine (January 1922). A facsimile of the poem in Iqbal's own handwriting faces the frontispiece. The poet included it later in بانگ درا (Bang-i-Dara), the first volume of his Urdu Poetical works.

جذباتِ ہمایوں

ضمیمہ ۳

(منتخب کلام)

سبزۂ چمن

یہ سب سے پہلی نظم تھی جو میاں صاحب نے لکھ کر ایک ادبی رسالے میں خود اشاعت کی غرض سے بھیجی۔ اس لحاظ سے کہ شیخ عبدالقادر (مدیر مخزن) نے اُن کے حلقۂ شاعری میں قدم رکھنے پر گویا دنیائے ادب کی طرف سے ایک مسرت آمیز تعجب کا اظہار کیا اُن کا نوٹ ایک خاص تاریخی حیثیت رکھتا ہے۔ اور اس لئے یہاں درج کیا جاتا ہے۔

"ہمارے کرم فرما مولوی محمد شاہ دین صاحب بی اے بیرسٹر ایٹ لا فیلو پنجاب یونیورسٹی نے ہمیں ایک نئے انداز کی نظم بھیجی ہے جسے ہم خوشی سے ہدیۂ ناظرین کرتے ہیں۔ گو مولوی صاحب بلحاظ لیاقت قانونی انگریزی زبان دانی اور فن تقریر کے تو پنجاب کے نامور آدمیوں میں ہیں اور محتاجِ تعریف نہیں مگر یہ معلوم کر کے کہ وہ نظم پر بھی بخوبی قادر ہیں ہمیں خود تعجب آمیز مسرت ہوئی اور ہم یقین رکھتے ہیں کہ اکثر اصحاب جو اُن کے نام سے واقف ہیں پہلی دفعہ تعجب کے ساتھ اُن کی اردو شاعری کا نمونہ دیکھیں گے! ابتدائے زمانۂ طالب علمی میں مولوی محمد شاہ دین صاحب نے شعر کہنے کا کسی قدر شوق کیا تھا اور ہمایوں تخلص کرتے تھے مگر انگریزی تعلیم نے اس شوق کو دبا دیا اور مدت تک اُنھوں نے بالکل شعر نہیں کہا۔ ان کی طبیعت کی جودت کا یہ اچھا ثبوت ہے کہ اگر عرصہ تک شاعرانہ مذاق کو بھلانے کے بعد بھی نظم لکھنے کو قلم اُٹھایا تو صاف اشعار نکل آئے۔ اس نظم میں اُنھوں نے ارادتاً انگریزی نظم کا تتبع کیا ہے جس کے نظم کے بند میں اکثر پہلے مصرع کا تیسرے سے اور دوسرے کا چوتھے سے قافیہ ملتا ہے اور ہر بند کی ٹیپ فارسی لکھی ہے جو ایک لطفِ خاص رکھتی ہے۔"

450

(رسالہ مخزن بابت اکتوبر ۱۹۰۱ء)

غنچوں نے چٹکیوں میں میرا دل لُبھا لیا
اے باغباں! چمن میں ترے کیا بہار ہے
لالہ نہیں ہے حسن کا ہے جل رہا دیا
یہ بُو نہیں ہے اُڑتا ختن کا سوار ہے
هنگامِ صبح سیرِ گلستاں بسا خوش است
بر شاخِ سبز بلبلِ شیریں نوا خوش است،

سبزے کا ہے زمیں پہ بچھا فرشِ مخملی
اور اس پہ ہیں چمک رہی پھولوں کی کیاریاں
جا با پانیوں نے گویا بہ سحرِ ہنر وری
فیروزہ پر عقیق سے کیں مینا کاریاں
اے آسماں؛ بگو بہ ملائک کہ دیدہ اند
منظر چنیں بہ خلدِ بریں یا شنیدہ اند

کس ناز کس ادا سے اُٹھی ہے نسیم ہائے
آفت کی شوخی اور قیامت کی چال ہے
کہہ دو کہ بلبلوں کو نہ اب باغباں ستائے
شاخِ شجر تک آج چمن میں نہال ہے
مانندِ گل ز فیضِ صبا تازہ شد دلم
بادہ خورم بیادِ گل و غم غلط کنم

نہروں میں کس صفائی سے بہتا ہے آبِ صاف
آئینے ہیں یہ سرو و صنوبر کے واسطے
ہر لہر کی زباں سے یہ کہتا ہے آبِ صاف
رُوحِ رواں ہوں میں ہی گُلِ تر کے واسطے
چیزے کہ زو حیات شود بہرہ ور منم
در ابرِ جلوہ مَن و در ہر شجر منم

بجلی چمک کے چھُپ گئی پھر کیوں سحاب میں؟
کیا کوئی دیدۂ حُسن کے لائق نہ تھا یہاں؟
کب تک چھُپے گا چہرہ یہ آخر نقاب میں؟
لو یک بیک پھر آپ کا جلوہ ہوا عیاں؟
حقا کہ برقِ حُسنِ حسیناں شنیدہ ایم
ایں نورِ شعلۂ رُخِ رخشاں نہ دیدہ ایم

بجلی نہیں، تجلّیِ یزداں ہے ابر میں!
اور یہ بھی محض عکس ہے اُس کے ظہور کا!
جلوہ اُسی کا ظاہر و پنہاں ہے ابر میں!
صد برق ایک قطرہ ہے دریائے نُور کا!
اے آفتاب ذرّۂ مہرِ ضیائے تو:
گستاخیٔ تمام خیالِ ثنائے تو

بارش کی بوندیں پڑنے لگیں آسمان سے
اے خضر! عطر دیکھ لے آبِ حیات کا
ہیرے نکل رہے ہیں یہ بادل کی کان سے
تاروں کی طرح چمکیں سماں ہو جو رات کا
اے ابر! بر تو رحمتِ پروردگار باد
وز تو بکوہ و دشت ہمیشہ بہار باد

اعجاز دیکھ تو سہی یاں کیا سماں ہے آج
نیرنگ! آسمان و زمیں کا نیا ہے رنگ
اقبال! تیری سحر بیانی کہاں ہے آج
ناظر! کمانِ فکر سے مار ایک دو خدنگ
از نغمہ ہائے دلکشِ ایں چار یارِ ما
پنجابِ خوش نوا ست ہمایوں! دیارِ ما

(نوشتہ کوہ مری - اگست سنہ ۱۹ء)

شالامار باغ (کشمیر)

اے باغ! لوگ کہتے ہیں تم شالامار ہو
اور عظمتِ گزشتہ کی اک یادگار ہو

کیا تم ہی زندہ ناموں کے باعث ننگ ہو؟
کیا تم ہی مُردہ سلطنتوں کے مزار ہو؟

کہتے ہیں تم سے کُھلتے ہیں رازِ دروں کے پیچ
تم اک کلیدِ قفلِ درِ روزگار ہو

ہاں کچھ بتاؤ اگلے زمانے کی کیفیت
تم واقعاتِ دہر کے نامہ نگار ہو

خاموش کیوں ہو کچھ تو کہو اپنی داستاں
کس سِترِ سر بہ مُہر کے تم رازدار ہو؟

فوّارہ کی زباں سے کہو کچھ تو اپنا حال
کیوں روتے زار زار تم اے آبشار ہو

اور تم بتاؤ پانی کی نہرو! کہ کِس لئے
مضطر ہو پیچ کھاتی ہو اور بے قرار ہو؟

کب سے جلا رہا ہے یہ سوزِ دروں تمہیں؟
دل دادہ کس کی یاد میں تم اے چنار ہو؟

ہاں اے مسافر! ایسے سوالوں سے فائدہ؟
زخموں پہ کیوں چھڑکتے نمک بار بار ہو؟

واقف ہو حالِ زار سے پھر پوچھتے ہو حال
تم بھی عجیب طرح کے تجاہل شعار ہو؟

کیا کہیں آہ! اپنی جو حالت ہے پوچھ لو
پیرِ فلک سے گر نہ تمہیں اعتبار ہو

وہ دِن بھی تھے کہ تازہ ہی رہتے تھے یہ چمن
کشمیر میں خزاں ہو کہ فصلِ بہار ہو

نورِ جہاں جو حُسن میں پُتلی تھی نور کی
اور قد میں جیسے سروِ لبِ جوئبار ہو

آ کر یہاں جماتی تھی وہ دلفریب رنگ
قرباں جس پہ جان سے سو لالہ زار ہو

اور آتا اُس کے ساتھ شہِ مے پرست کا
جس کی نگہ سے چشمِ طرب میں خمار ہو

سامانِ عیش اور وہ عشرت کی محفلیں
وہ راتیں جن پہ روزِ درخشاں نثار ہو

کہہ دو تمہیں کہ جس نے گزارے ہوں ایسے دن
اب کیوں نہ اُن کی یاد میں وہ دلفگار ہو

یہ گُل جو دیکھتے ہو وہ سینے کے داغ ہیں
دل کی بتائیں ہم جو کوئی غمگسار ہو

اِس انقلابِ دہر نے پامال کر دیا
خاک اپنی اب تو کاش فنا کا غبار ہو

اِن اشکباریوں کا تمہاری اثر ہو خاک
سچ تو یہ ہے اگرچہ تمہیں ناگوار ہو

ظالم ہے سنگ دل ہے یہ تہذیب جس کو آج
تم سمجھے خاصِ رحمتِ پروردگار ہو

چاندی کا اِس کا جسم ہے سونے کا اِس کا دِل
اِس تاک میں نگہ کہ گہر کا شکار ہو

کانوں پہ اس کی آنکھ، فلزات پہ نظر
دُھن ہے یہی کہ بھاپ ہو، بجلی ہو، تار ہو

لیکن کہیں جو قسمتِ بد سے رہی سہی
اگلے زمانے کی کوئی اِک یادگار ہو

ہوتی نہیں ہے بھول کے بھی اُس طرف نگاہ
پھر جائے گر مفاد کا کچھ اعتبار ہو

پھولوں سے دل ہمارا نہ کیونکر ہو داغ داغ
بدتر خزاں سے کیوں نہ ہماری بہار ہو

تہذیب اور زمانہ کی ہو جب کہ یہ روش
چشمِ کرم کا کیا کوئی اُمیدوار ہو

بیتاب کیوں ہے سن کے ہمایوں یہ داستاں
جنت میں آ کے کیوں کوئی یوں اشکبار ہو؟

محوِ خیال کیوں ہے؟ ذرا آنکھ تو اُٹھا
دیکھ اور محوِ صنعتِ پروردگار ہو!

منظر نہیں، یہ شانِ خدا کا ظہور ہے
پانی کو چوم، کوہ سے لے ہمکنار ہو

لہریں ہیں، بادلوں میں ہوائیں بہار میں
وہ رُوح ہے کہ جان تری اُس پہ نثار ہو

دل چاہتا ہے اپنا ہو مسکن نسیمِ باغ
مر جائیے تو ڈل کے کنارے مزار ہو!

سو جائیں ایک پتے کا سینے پہ رکھ کے ہاتھ
مدفن دلِ تپاں کا جو زیرِ چنار ہو

ناظر بڑا مزا ہو جو اقبال ساتھ دے
ہر سال ہم ہوں شیخ[۱] ہو اور شالامار ہو

(مطبوعہ رسالہ مخزن، جون ۱۹۰۳ء)

۱؎ مراد شیخ عبدالقادر سے ہے۔

آزادگی

کیوں مشتِ خاک پر کوئی دل داغ دار ہو
مر کر بھی یہ ہوس کہ ہمارا مزار ہو
ہو کر جو ذرّہ ذرّہ عناصر میں جائے رل
یکساں ہے گردِ راہ بنے یا غبار ہو
آواز کی طرح جو جہاں سے نکل گیا
پتھر کی طرح سینے پہ پھر کیوں وہ بار ہو؟
انساں کو بے ثباتی پہ بھی اپنی ناز ہے
نقشِ قدم کی طرح یہ کیوں خاکسار ہو؟
گھوڑے اُڑائے کیوں نہ وہ سرپٹ غرور کے
مر کر بھی جس کی رُوح ہوا پر سوار ہو؟
اُس بوالہوس کی موت کے قربان جائیے
جو پھر دوبارہ جینے کا اُمیدوار ہو
کمھلانا ہی تھا پھول کو کمھلانا عندلیب!
کیوں داغِ دل سے سینہ ترا لالہ زار ہو
یکساں ہیں اہلِ دل کے لئے انبساط و غم
باغِ جہاں میں آئے خزاں یا بہار ہو!

دونوں کی مثلِ نقطۂ موہوم ہے بساط
عشرت میں خوش ہو، غم میں کوئی بے قرار ہو
اس صید گاہ میں وہی نکلے گا بچ کے صاف
جو صید سب سے پہلے اجل کا شکار ہو
دُنیا مقام رہنے کے قابل تو ہے، اگر
بیگانہ ہو نہ اپنا، عدو ہو نہ یار ہو
گُل ہو نہ برگِ خشک ہو، بلبل ہو اور نہ زاغ
غم کی خزاں نہ ہو نہ خوشی کی بہار ہو
جو ہر نہ ہو نہ عرض، نہ کل ہو، نہ جزو و کل
کون و مکاں نہ ہو، نہ یہ لیل و نہار ہو
حد ہو نہ جسم کی، نہ کوئی رُوح کی ہو قید
مجبور ہو نہ کوئی، نہ با اختیار ہو
ہُو کا ہو عالم اور نہ کچھ ہو سوائے نور
اور تیر بن کے وہ مرے سینے کے پار ہو
اے ہستی! سختیاں تری کب تک سہے بشر؛
کر دوں فنا تجھے جو مرا اختیار ہو
کیوں غم کا ڈر، خوشی سے ہمایوںؔ لگاؤ کیوں؛
ہاں یہ بھی نذرِ عالمِ ناپائدار ہو
رکھتی ہے اپنا لطف ہر اک طرز کیفیت
غم کا نشہ ہو یا کہ خوشی کا خمار ہو

کیا لُطفِ دیدِ گُل ہو تو ہی کہہ دے ہمصفیر!
گُلزار میں خزاں جو نہ بعدِ بہار ہو

ہے رہنمائے خلق عمل جس کے نیک ہوں
کافر ہو وہ عقیدہ میں یا دین دار ہو

مے خانہ ایسا چاہیئے ہم مشربو! جہاں
کوئی نہ مست ہو نہ کوئی ہوشیار ہو

پیمانہ شکستہ کے ٹکڑے ہوں منتشر
مے ہو نہ ساقی ہو، نہ کوئی بادہ خوار ہو

پیرِمغاں کے گرد ہو اک انجمن لگی
عقلِ جواں بھی جان سے جس پر نثار ہو

اک سوز شعلے کی طرح ایسا بھڑک اُٹھے
جس سے کہ دل میں آنکھ میں سر میں خمار ہو

روشن ہو نور سینے میں اِک شمع کی طرح
قربان اُس پہ دِل مرا پروانہ وار ہو

ہاں صاف صاف کہہ دو ہُمایوں جو دِل میں ہے
ہونٹوں میں بڑبڑاتے یہ کیا بار بار ہو

(مطبوعہ رسالہ مخزن دسمبر ۱۹۰۶ء)

اتحادِ قوم سے ہر فرد یکتا ہو گیا

اتحادِ قوم سے ہر فرد یکتا ہو گیا — قطرہ دریا میں ملا تو خود بھی دریا ہو گیا
میرے آنے کی غرض خود مجھ سے پنہاں ہو گئی — بزمِ عالم میں جو ہیں محوِ تماشا ہو گیا
بے کلی سے پائی گل میں نے عجب تسکینِ دل — درد بڑھ کر خود مرے دل کا مداوا ہو گیا
بادہ شورِ محشر اور یا یہ خموشی قبر کی — آ کر اس کی بزم میں اے دل تجھے کیا ہو گیا!

اٹھو ورنہ حشر نہیں ہوگا پھر کبھی

اٹھو ورنہ حشر نہیں ہوگا پھر کبھی — دوڑو زمانہ چال قیامت کی چل گیا
اک تم کہ جم گئے ہو جمادات کی طرح — اک وہ کہ گویا تیر کماں سے نکل گیا
دن گذرا پر تمہاری وہی ایک بات ہے — سر پر کھڑی وہ دیکھو قیامت کی رات ہے

جنگِ عالمگیر

جنگِ عالمگیر نے دنیا کی کایا دی پلٹ — مہر و مہ کہتے ہیں یہ دورِ زمانہ اور ہے
ڈھونڈتا ہے ہر طرف راہِ ترقی ان کا تیر — جنگ جو قوموں کا اب طرزِ نشانہ اور ہے
ہے یہ کشت و خونِ یورپ تیرے عصیاں کی سزا — یا سمندِ ناز پر اک تازیانہ اور ہے
اے ہمایوں چشمِ ظاہر بیں سے تو اس کو نہ دیکھ — جنگِ عالم میں نہاں کوئی بہانہ اور ہے

نسیم باغ - ڈل کشمیر (اگست ۱۹۱۸ء)

عدن سے خطاب

یہ نظم میاں صاحب مرحوم نے ولایت سے لوٹتے وقت سمندر میں جہاز پر لکھی جب وہ ۱۹۱۲ء میں یورپ کی سیر سے واپس آ رہے تھے۔ ڈاکٹر اقبال کے اصرار پر یہ نظم رسالہ "پنجاب ریویو" (مرتبہ مولوی ظفر علی خاں) میں شائع ہوئی اور بہت سے اخبارات و رسائل نے اسے رسالہ مذکور سے نقل کیا۔

نہیں گو قابلِ تعریف منظر اے عدن! تیرا
مگر دل کش ہے تو ملکِ عرب ہے جب وطن تیرا
مسلماں کی نظر میں پھول ہے خارِ چمن تیرا
زباں شیریں تری مرغوب اندازِ سخن تیرا
پہاڑی میں تری غارِ حرا کا راز پنہاں ہے،
کہاں وہ بابِ عالی ہے کہ تو اک جس کا درباں ہے،

وہ دن بھی یاد ہیں تجھ کو عجب دنیا کی حالت تھی
ہر اک قوم اور ملت غرقِ دریائے جہالت تھی
مشائخ میں حسد تھا اور قبیلوں میں عداوت تھی
عرب کی سرزمیں سب تشنۂ آبِ اخوت تھی
یکایک جانبِ مکہ سے اٹھا ابرِ رحمت کا
ہوئی شاداب دنیا معجزہ دیکھو نبوت کا

عرب جاگا خدائی نے خدا کو اپنے پہچانا
ہوئے وحدت میں یکتا جن کے معبد تھے جداگانہ
بنے سب بھائی بھائی اعلےٰ ادنےٰ اپنا بیگانہ
ہوئے وحشی مہذب اور ناداں بن گئے دانا
بنی آدم بنا انساں جہاں میں انقلاب آیا
سوالِ اوّلیں کا کیسا دل خوش کُن جواب آیا

مگر افسوس فصلِ گُل کا انجام آگیا جلدی
مہِ اسلام پر ابرِ تنزّل چھا گیا جلدی
وہ مذہب قومِ یخ بستہ کو جو گرما گیا جلدی
برنگِ نُور آیا صورتِ سایہ گیا جلدی
چمک کر چھپ گئی بجلی جہاں کی آنکھ حیراں ہے
جو تھا باغِ اِرم وہ آج اک اُجڑا گلستاں ہے

عدن! پھر تجھ میں آبادی کے آثار اب نُمایاں ہیں
پھریں دن اُن کے بھی اسلام کے جو خانہ ویراں ہیں
پڑے ہر سُو نظر آتے جو کچھ تنکے پریشاں ہیں
عجب کیا خوشنما سے اک نشیمن کے یہ ساماں ہیں
ہمایوں! اس چمن میں پھر بہار آئے عجب کیا ہے
نکل کر گرد سے اک شہسوار آئے عجب کیا ہے!

(درجہاز "عربیہ" مورخہ ۲۲ اگست ۱۹۱۲ء)